CHILD NATURE AND NURTURE

ACCORDING TO NICOLAUS LUDWIG VON ZINZENDORF

HENRY H. MEYER

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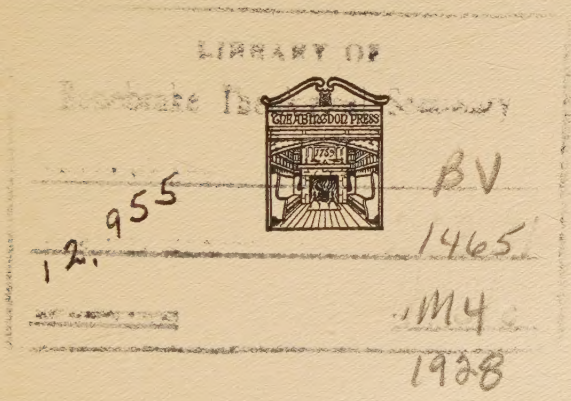
THE GRADED SUNDAY SCHOOL IN PRINCIPLE AND PRACTICE

CHILD NATURE AND NURTURE

ACCORDING TO NICOLAUS LUDWIG VON ZINZENDORF

By

HENRY H. MEYER, Ph.D. (Yale)


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CONTENTS

CHAPTER		PAGE
	PREFACE	7
I.	A NEW APPROACH TO ZINZENDORF	9
II.	THE EDUCATIONAL WRITINGS OF ZINZENDORF. Catechisms; Biblical Writings; Sermons and Addresses; Hymns, Litanies and Memory Texts; Miscellaneous Educational Writings	21
III.	CHILD NATURE AND NURTURE. Zinzendorf's Relation to Children; The Principle of Free Development; The Religious Status of the Child; The Principle of Religious Growth	92
IV.	THE ORGANIZATION AND ADMINISTRATION OF RELIGIOUS NURTURE AND TRAINING. Christian Nurture in the Home; Religious Education in Schools and Orphanages; Organization of the Religious Community for Nurture and Training	131
V.	THE RELIGIOUS EDUCATIONAL PRINCIPLES OF ZINZENDORF	177
	APPENDIX I. SOURCE QUOTATIONS	
	APPENDIX II. BIBLIOGRAPHY	

PREFACE

RECENT developments in religious education have focused attention upon the child as the all-important factor in human progress. Child psychology, curriculum making, and teaching methods are prominent subjects in current training courses for teachers and administrative officers in the church school. The modern church school, with its Sunday and week-day sessions, is demanding a division of time with the public school in the interest of the more adequate religious training of all children and youth.

At such a time of rapid educational advance, questions of balance and proportion are of special importance. There is need for historical perspective lest the hard-won progress of the centuries be overlooked and the mistakes of the past be repeated. Just now a study of the work of Nicolaus Ludwig von Zinzendorf should prove valuable because of certain strikingly modern aspects of his theory and practice in religious education which he developed before the beginning of the modern pedagogical movement.

The present study concerns itself with the religious-educational theory and practice of Zinzendorf. These it is intended to set forth in connected and reasonably complete form in so far as Zinzendorf himself arrived at a clear-cut theory which he sought to apply in practice.

Zinzendorf's theory of religious education concerns itself with the status of the child in the kingdom of God; with the nature of the experience of salvation in the individual; with the resulting aims and general principles of procedure in the religious nurture and training of children and with the organization of the Christian community for purposes of worship and instruction. His practice in a measure reflects and illustrates his theory. His theory is again the outgrowth largely of his personal experience. In certain particulars it reflects the prevailing theology of his

time; but it nevertheless transcends the educational implications of that theology and breaks away from those implications, following independent lines of development. The theology will not concern us except as it is inseparably a part of or directly influences his precept and practice in the religious nurture and training of children.

The writer desires to acknowledge his indebtedness to the authorities of the Moravian Archives at Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, and at Herrnhut, Saxony. He is especially indebted to President and Seminar Director Von O. Uttendoerfer, Ph.D., at Herrnhut, and to Professor William M. Schwarze, Ph.D., at Bethlehem, for their personal assistance in consulting and copying manuscript archive records. All translations from the German, except as otherwise credited, are by the writer. An unabridged manuscript copy of this book is in the library of Yale University, New Haven.

New York, January, 1928.

HENRY H. MEYER.

CHAPTER I

A NEW APPROACH TO ZINZENDORF

Familiar Aspects of His Life

Count Nicolaus Ludwig von Zinzendorf is known to students of church history as the founder, generous patron, and bishop of the reorganized Moravian Church. To his contemporaries and colaborers in religious work he was the honored Ordinarius of the Unitas Fratrum.[1] Isaac Watts and John Wesley, contemporary evangelical leaders, counted him as a friend and distinguished servant of Jesus Christ.[2] Of noble birth and ancestry, a man of independent wealth and highest social standing,[3] he surrendered the important office of state attorney at the court of Saxony[4] in order to identify himself with a colony of Moravian refugees whom he had given shelter

[1] The recognized Head of the Unity of the Brethren, Ordinarius Unitas Fratrum. *Sp. Z. L.*, I, p. 732; II, p. 1572. This designation is used instead of the name on the title page of many of Zinzendorf's published works.

[2] In the summer of 1738, after visiting Zinzendorf at Herrnhut, John Wesley wrote: "I would gladly have spent my life here, but my Master, calling me to work in another part of his vineyard, on Monday 14 (August) I was constrained to take my leave of this happy place. Oh, when shall this Christianity cover the earth as the waters cover the sea!"—Wesley's diary, August 14, 1738. On December 21, 1738, Isaac Watts wrote "To the Reverend Mr. Ed. Holyoke, President of Hærvard College in Cambridge, New England," introducing "that Noble and Excellent Person Count Zinzendorf, who has a Possession of a small territory in Silesia between Moravia and Poland; who has given a Refuge to the Persecuted Remains of the Moravian and Bohemian Churches in his small Dominion," and who is about to visit the Moravian colonists in America. In further describing Zinzendorf the letter continues, "He is a Person of uncommon Zeal and Piety, and an Evangelic Spirit . . . of a middle Stature, between Thirty and Forty Years of Age, speaks Latin and French well."—From the original manuscript letter in the *Herrnhut Archives*.

[3] Zinzendorf was the direct descendant of an old south-Austrian family of the same name which had enjoyed distinction since the eleventh century and which was allied with pre-Reformation dissenting groups. His ancestors had been among the first to espouse the Protestant Reformation and to subscribe to the Augsburg Confession (1530). The Zinzendorf branch of his ancestry transferred its estates to Saxony in the middle of the seventeenth century and became influential at the Court of Saxony. Both Zinzendorf's father and uncle held Cabinet positions. Within the Lutheran fold Zinzendorf's family belonged to the inner circle of spiritually minded among whom Spener, the founder of Pietism, found his first influential adherents. Cf. *Sp. Z. L.*, I, p. 7f.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 195.

at Herrnhut.[5] For more than thirty years, 1727–60, he inspired and in large measure personally directed and financed the effective home and foreign missionary program that has been the glory of Moravianism for more than two centuries.[6] During his lifetime Zinzendorf was the central figure of Moravianism. To its fellowship and work he gave all his strength and time and the major part of an independent fortune. For this fellowship he suffered exile from his native Saxony under suspicion of aiding and abetting a separatist movement in religion with heretical tendencies in theology and communistic practices in congregational organization and life.[7] He proved himself an incessant traveler,[8] preacher,[9] and writer,[10] who with singleness of purpose devoted himself to the spread and firm establishment of the new Unity of the Brethren and its unique fellowship of the Christian life. As an ecclesiastical organizer and administrator he manifested originality and genius and accomplished permanent results of far-reaching significance. This is evidenced by the organization of the Moravian Church in Europe and America[11] and by Zinzendorf's plan of church organization prepared for the German Lutheran churches in Pennsylvania.[12]

But Zinzendorf's genius for organization was overshadowed and to a degree obscured by his passion for church unity. Like John Wesley, after the early success of the Methodist revival, Zinzendorf declined to sponsor or even encourage a separatist

[5] *Sp. Z. L.*, I, p. 403.

[6] Spangenberg: *Arbeit der Evangelischen Brueder unter den Heiden*, Barby, 1782. A summary account of the Missionary work of the Brethren from its inception in 1732 to Zinzendorf's death in 1760. Compare with this the account in *Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics*, Vol. VIII, p. 839, published in 1916.

[7] By order of the governmental Commission which investigated conditions at Herrnhut in 1736. *Sp. Z. L.*, II, p. 959; *Nat. Ref.*, p. 237.

[8] Zinzendorf visited England in 1737, '41, '43, '46 and 1749; Holland in 1736, '38, '43, and 1746; Switzerland in 1746 and 1759; Saint Thomas in 1737; America in 1741–42.

[9] The survey of the educational writings of Zinzendorf, which is part of this study, includes more than twenty volumes of sermons and addresses.

[10] See Educational Writings in Chapter II.

[11] *Cranz. Br. Hist.*, I, p. 139; *Bd. Sam.*, I, p. 676.

[12] *Luterische Kirchen-Ordnung—Bd. Sam.*, III, p. 702; *Nat. Ref.*, p. 267.

movement on the part of the Moravian congregations. Throughout his lifetime the German Moravian congregations were recognized congregational units in the established Lutheran and Reformed churches, the congregation at Herrnhut being recognized as a Lutheran church in good standing.[13] For Zinzendorf, every temporal organization of the Christian fellowship and every formal statement of creed was a concession to human need, important only as it served the spiritual purposes of that fellowship and contributed to its enrichment and wider extension.[14] To the ideal of church unity he committed the Moravian churches to such an extent that their effective evangelistic and missionary service to the world has never during the course of two centuries degenerated into a proselyting propaganda for the extension of organized Moravianism. His brief sojourn in the American colonies, 1741–1742, principally in Pennsylvania, New York, and New Jersey, was devoted to the double purpose of evangelizing the Indians[15] and bringing together into one organized fellowship, if possible, the various Protestant evangelical communions, working among the German colonists.[16] In Philadelphia he accepted the pastorate of the Lutheran church[17] and at the same time participated in and usually presided over successive delegated conferences in which were represented Lutheran, Reformed, Mennonite, Schwenkfelder, Quaker, Baptist, Adventists, and other religious groups.[18] All of these Zinzendorf visited in their scattered settlements and places of worship in the capacity of an evangelist and of mediator between diverging theological opinions.[19]

For the Moravian fellowship he preferred and consistently

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[13] *Sp. Z. L.*, I, p. 558; II, p. 901.

[14] *Ibid.*, I, p. 173.

[15] *Cranz. Br. Hist.*, I, p. 360.

[16] *Cranz. Br. Hist.*, I, p. 350.

[17] *Bd. Sam.*, III, p. 579.

[18] The published records of these conferences, printed by Franklin, are among the best preserved samples of his excellent workmanship. The minutes of each of the seven conferences have a separate and different title and title page. Since they are usually bound together, they are referred to under the title of the first set of minutes as *Authentische Relation . . . der Versammlung . . . in Pennsylvania.*

[19] *Auth. Relat.*, pp. 19, 43, 53.

advocated the position of a church within a church, *ecclesiola in ecclesia,* and the closer personal fellowship of like-minded militant believers whatever their denominational affiliation. This conception of the mission of the Moravian movement led in 1744 to the institution of the Tropes,[20] a designation given to organized Moravian groups within various established denominational bodies.

In the history of theology Zinzendorf appears as a Christian mystic who finds in personal religious experience, that is, in the conscious relationship of the believer to Christ, and in the resulting life of blessed fellowship and communion, the sum and substance of religion.[21] The conscious unbroken experience of communion with Him who has redeemed us through his blood, for Zinzendorf is the one sufficient evidence of divine life in the soul.[22] Whoever has this experience is "saved." All who have it not are "dead," either through personal acts of sinfulness or through ignorance because the appeal of Christ's redeeming love has not yet touched their hearts. Christ is himself the sum and substance of that which Zinzendorf would teach. Thus his first book, a catechism for children, he designated *The Pure Milk of the Teachings Concerning Jesus Christ.*[23] Throughout all his writings, from this first primer written at the age of twenty-two to his last recorded sermons and addresses the year before his death,[24] he repeats and emphasizes over and over again the central thesis of his philosophy of salvation, Jesus the martyred Saviour, the Man of Sorrows, must gain ascendancy and rule supreme in the heart of every individual disciple.[25]

Stated in simplest terms, the evidence of salvation for Zinzendorf is the attainment of this experience of Christ in the heart. Writing from America in 1742, in response to certain

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[20] Tropi Paidias—*Cranz. Br. Hist.*, I, pp. 409, 437.

[21] *Red. Ev.*, III, p. 1553; *Nat. Ref.*, p. 42.

[22] *J. H. D.*, March 28, 1758; Oct. 11, 1758; July 8, 1759; March 13, 1760.

[23] Cf. pp. 21ff, below.

[24] *Letzte Reden*, especially the eight addresses delivered between February, 1759, and March, 1760.

[25] *J. H. D.*, March 28, 1758; October 11, 1758; July 8, 1759; March 13, 1760.

criticisms of himself and of his teachings that were gaining credence during his absence, Zinzendorf summarizes briefly his teaching on this point and counsels his brethren regarding procedure to be followed in their work.[26] The method here described is "to preach the blood of Christ, and that he loved us enough to die for us upon the cross . . . in such a way that the Lamb, the Son of God, who gave himself for our sins, shall become all things to every human heart—God, Mediator, Exorcist, Saviour, Paraclete, Example, Brother Man. . . . To proclaim all virtues as in him, from him and on his account; to preach no other commandment except to believe on him; no other righteousness except that he stands in our stead; no other blessedness but to be with him, praising him, pleasing him; no hardship except separation from him, no disaster except to displease him, no life apart from him." In the order of this discourse "first things are to be expounded first," namely, "that all things are to be sought and to be found in Christ, because all things are given in him."[27] The glad experience of the Christian congregation and of every one of its members is "He is with us always."[28] "He has taken possession of our hearts absolutely. . . . Communion with him brings a foretaste of heaven. . . . But even if we did not experience hours of ecstatic joy, our lives would still proceed at a quiet and regular pace in the one continuing experience of soul-to-soul communion with him. This is no dream, nor does it belong to the realm of the extraordinary; it is perfectly natural. Our eating and drinking, our going and coming, our communion one with another are not more real and natural than our communion with the Man of Sorrows."[29] Compared with this personal experience of spiritual communion with Christ, all dogma, for Zinzendorf, becomes secondary with the exception only of those fundamental truths relating to the reconciliation of all mankind with God through the death of Christ and the requirement that the individual should experience this reconciliation by means of a living and immediate personal faith in Jesus Christ.

[26] *Nat. Rel.*, p. 38.
[27] *Nat. Rel.*, p. 42.
[28] *Matt.* 28. 20.
[29] *Red. Ev.*, III, p. 1553.

For theologians and people of culture, with whom his social rank and university training permitted him to associate freely, Zinzendorf spoke and wrote in the language of culture[30] as the advocate of an accepted creed[31] and in defense of his own seeming deviations from acknowledged standards of orthodoxy.[32] But to the common people, to the servants on his own estates, the farmers and tradesmen among the Moravian colonists,[33] and to the children,[34] he spoke and wrote in a language which they could understand and reproduce as lay witnesses and missionaries of a faith and an experience which they came to share with him, their patron, teacher, and brother disciple of the Lord Christ. How well he succeeded in adapting his language to the village populace and to cultured society, to learned scholars and to little children, is evident to anyone who compares his gospel sermons, preached to the Moravian congregations,[35] with his theological defense of the Augsburg Confession;[36] or his addresses to the children[37] with those delivered to the Lutheran and Reformed churches in Philadelphia.[38] In the one case he is telling the glad tidings of salvation to plain people or to children with a view to assisting them immediately to the attainment of a personal experience such as he himself has enjoyed for many years. In the other case he is expounding and seeking to vitalize a system of theology.

But Zinzendorf's paternal relation to the Moravian congregations, together with his habit of personally addressing the people at each of the daily services, developed in him the habit of much extemporaneous speaking. This was characterized at times by looseness or incoherence of thought and by a monotonous repetition of favorite themes. His mystical interpretation of religious experience resulted in the use of a vivid symbolism

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[30] *Cf. Dresdener Socrates.*

[31] *Berliner Reden; Londoner Reden.*

[32] *Letter to King of Sweden*, 1755, *Bd. Sam.*, I, p. 72.

[33] *Gemein Reden*, 1747.

[34] *Kinder Reden*, 1755–1758.

[35] *Red. Ev.*, six volumes.

[36] *Aufsatz ueber die Augsburgische Confession—Nat. Ref., Beylagen*, pp. 75–98.

[37] *Kinder Reden*, 1755–1758.

[38] *Penn. Reden*, 1741–1742.

based upon the suffering and death of Christ which in its extreme form is no longer in use in rational religious speech.

Any fair appraisal of Zinzendorf's total character and work must take account of these idiosyncrasies, while discounting the shameless use that was made of them by unfriendly contemporaries.[39] To these the simple faith, unpretentious life, and religious zeal of Zinzendorf were incomprehensible, and seemed to be a cloak for serious lapses from sanity in religious faith and conduct.

Viewed in the perspective of history, the sufficient answer to Zinzendorf's critics would seem to be the total impact which his life and labors made upon the Moravian fellowship, and through that fellowship upon the Christian Church and the world. That the severest of the accusations made against him by unfriendly contemporaries—those, namely, of morbid sentimentality, loose living and immoral teaching—were without sufficient foundation to shake the faith of the well-informed in Zinzendorf's integrity of purpose and life, is amply attested.[40]

While still a student at Halle, at the age of fifteen, Zinzendorf organized among his fellow students "The Order of the Mustard Seed," the members of which pledged themselves to carry or send the gospel to the neglected and the needy in the uttermost parts of the world.[41] This vision of service Zinzendorf never lost, and in 1732 redeemed his pledge by inspiring and financing the first missionary enterprise of the reorganized Moravian Church.[42] Under the continued encouragement of Zinzendorf and his fellow members of the Order of the Mustard Seed the missionary work of the Moravian Brotherhood became one of the outstanding features of its work. That missionary interest and effort have never waned. In harmony with Zinzen-

[39] A fair example of such use is the work of Timotheo Verino entitled "*Entdecktes Geheimniss der Bosheit der Herrnhutischen Secte.*"

[40] A discussion of this matter is presented in Chapter II, in connection with the consideration of the particular writings of Zinzendorf to which the criticisms apply.

[41] *Sp. Z. L.*, I, p. 48. The Order was still flourishing in 1737—*Ibid.*, II, p. 1041.

[42] The sending of Leonhard Dober as missionary to the native black slaves on the Island of Saint Thomas.

dorf's original purpose the service of Moravian missions has been to a great extent among primitive races and in out-of-the-way places.[43] The proportion of missionaries to church membership is about one missionary to sixty members—by far the largest in Protestantism. This record of continued service in most difficult fields is a testimony to Zinzendorf's own missionary zeal and to his ability to inspire in others a life-long devotion to the cause of the evangelization of the world.[44]

A New Approach

The present study undertakes a new approach to the life and work of Zinzendorf. Like the more recent works of Uttendoerfer,[45] Seefelt,[46] and Reichel,[47] it concedes to Zinzendorf a place of importance and distinction in the field of education. He was the honored founder of the educational institutions of the reorganized Moravian Church. During the greater part of two centuries these institutions, both in Europe and America, have been noteworthy for thoroughness of scholarship, for their excellent teaching methods, and for the worthy service they have rendered through the training of teachers and missionaries.[48] Gradually also Zinzendorf is coming to be recognized as one of the immediate forerunners of the modern pedagogical movement dating from Herbart and Froebel, although his original contribution to educational theory and method was made within the narrower field of the religious training of children and youth.

Interest in children and concern for their religious training were among the earliest and most prominent traits in Zinzendorf's character. For a period of almost twenty years Zinzendorf's responsibility for a growing adult congregation diverted

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[43] Iceland, Labrador, Alaska, Nicaragua, British and Dutch Guiana, South and East Africa, including in 1916 altogether fourteen countries, 343 stations.

[44] Cf. article on "Moravianism" in the *Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics*, VIII, p. 837f.

[45] *Das Erziehungswesen Zinzendorfs und der Bruedergemeine in seinen Anfaengen*, 1912; Zinzendorf und die Jugend, 1923.

[46] *Zinzendorf als Paedagoge*, 1912. [47] *Die Anfaenge Herrnhuts*, 1922.

[48] Cr. *Rein, Ency, Paed.* articles, Zinzendorf; Brueder-Gemein; also, Ziegler, *Geschichte der Paedagogik*, p. 207.

his attention somewhat from religious education to matters of temporal economy, from the teaching of children to the organization and discipline of adults. Later, when the great influx of adults into the membership of the Moravian churches had somewhat abated and the family life and congregational activities of the societies had become well ordered and established, and when missionary travels no longer consumed so large a portion of his time and strength, Zinzendorf turned his attention once more to the intensive promotion of religious training among children and youth. To this latter period of educational activity belong his printed sermons and addresses to children, and many of his miscellaneous writings bearing on religious education.

Zinzendorf's insight into child life and his understanding of the fact, if not of the laws, of spiritual growth, together with his resulting theory and practice in religious education, are among the most remarkable factors of his busy and useful life. They seem the more remarkable when it is recalled that his work belongs to an age untouched either by the scientific theory of evolution or by the modern interest in child study. Zinzendorf lived a whole century before Darwin. He preached his last sermon nearly fifty years before Herbart began to lecture on psychology at Koenigsberg. He was an older contemporary of Rousseau but did not live to see the publication of Emile.[49] He died in 1760, twenty-five years before the birth of Froebel, when Pestalozzi was still a boy of fifteen.

Three strains of religious heritage, those from Luther, Comenius, and Francke, converged in him. But to these were added native factors that made his theory and method peculiarly his own. He reflects the spirit of rebellion against the stilted artificiality of his time, which spirit likewise finds expression in Basedow and the Philanthropists, as it does in the writings of Rousseau. In the case of Zinzendorf this rebellion was directed also against the current dogmatic catechetical teaching method of orthodox Lutheranism, and against the harsher methods of religious discipline characteristic of his time.

[49] In 1762.

Zinzendorf's innovations in conjunction with the refugee colony at Herrnhut led to a break with the Pietistic leaders at Halle. Because of this fact Zinzendorf's creative work in religious pedagogy was carried on a little apart from the main line of religious-educational development, that leads directly from August Hermann Francke, through August Herman Niemeyer[50] (the elder) to Johann Friedrich Herbart[51] and his numerous and illustrious successors. He remained unappreciated, and for the most part unnoticed, except in the narrower circle of the Moravian movement. Even among the Moravians the permanently valuable contributions of Zinzendorf's genius have not always been traced or credited to their proper source. Zinzendorf's contemporaries and earlier successors in the Moravian Church gave more attention to other phases of his many-sided constructive service. The religious educational aspects of his writings until recently have been neglected.

Such brief records of Zinzendorf's life and work as appear in the religious and theological encyclopedias and in the standard works on Christian history are drawn largely from the earlier histories of his immediate contemporaries—August Gottlieb Spangenberg,[52] David Cranz,[53] Duvernoy,[54] and Plitt.[55] All of these men lived, as did Zinzendorf, before the day of scientific method in education. They seem not to have discovered in his writings that foregleam of modern educational philosophy which gives to his theory and practice their permanent interest and value. Spangenberg, in the closing summary of his long history of Zinzendorf's life, gives a final estimate of his character and

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[50] Niemeyer, in a textbook on Pedagogy, refers to Zinzendorf along with Francke as having passed on to wider circles and future generations the spirit and message of Pietism. *Grundsaetze der Erziehung und des Unterrichts*, p. 565.

[51] Herbart's dependence on Niemeyer was acknowledged by Herbart himself, and has been fully set forth by Schleinitz in his "*Herbarts Verhaeltniss zu Niemeyer*," p. 9.

[52] *Zinzendorf's Leben*, 8 parts in 3 vols. 2258 pages. Barby, 1772.

[53] *Brueder Historie*, 4 vols. Part of vol. 1 only, deals with Zinzendorf's time. Barby 1772.

[54] *Kurzgefaszte Lebensgeschichte*, 1 vol. 138 pages. Barby, 1793.

[55] *Geschichte Der Erneuerten Brueder Unitat*, in manuscript written about 1820.

service without mentioning his pedagogical interest, or even his religious-educational work with children,[56] although in the eight volumes of his *Life of Zinzendorf* he frequently refers to both. Thus it has come about that even to-day some of the most suggestive of Zinzendorf's utterances remain buried in manuscript form, in the archives of local Moravian congregations, in widely separated parts of the world. It has remained for students of religious-educational theory in the twentieth century to rediscover and collect the scattered store of his pedagogical wisdom.

Several notable studies in this field have already been made. Earliest among these was Uttendoerfer's comprehensive and discriminating volume in *Monumenta Germàniae Padagogica,*[57] which traces sympathetically the institutional development of the Moravian colony and religious congregation at Herrnhut from its inception to the time of Zinzendorf's banishment from Saxony in 1736 and the transfer of the Moravian institutions to Wetteravia. Uttendœrfer brings out clearly Zinzendorf's indebtedness to Pietism as a main source of his religious inspiration. But he shows also his distinct advance beyond the position of Pietism in his fundamental conception concerning the nature and religious status of the child. In the same year, 1912, Paul Zeefelt presented a dissertation at the University of Würzburg on the subject "Zinzendorf als Paedagoge," which has the distinction of being the first objective analysis of the work of Zinzendorf from the standpoint of pedagogical theory. It is very brief to the point of being scrappy, but contains some valuable material in summary form. To these pioneer studies there have since been added a book on the earliest developments at Herrnhut,[58] and a second volume by Uttendoerfer dealing with the pedagogy of Zinzendorf.[59] The work of Reichel traces minutely some of the factors contributing to the original establishment of the Moravian colony at Herrnhut as a religious congregation under Zin-

[56] *Sp. Z. L.*, III, p. 2256.

[57] Volume 51, "Das Erziehungswesen Zinzendorfs und der Bruedergemeine in seinen Anfaengen," von O. Uttendoerfer, Berlin, 1912.

[58] *Reichel: Die Anfaenge Herrnhuts.* Herrnhut, 1922.

[59] *Uttendoerfer: Zinzendorf und die Jugend*, Berlin, 1923.

zendorf's protection and patronage. It does not go beyond the events of 1723. Uttendoerfer's more recent volume, on the other hand, is a comprehensive and scholarly presentation of the teaching work of Zinzendorf as a whole. As such, it necessarily covers some of the ground covered also in the present volume.

In addition to these recently published works the author has been privileged to examine two unpublished manuscripts by Uttendoerfer, one in which he traces the early beginnings of the educational work of the Moravian congregations in North America,[60] and one consisting of pedagogical quotations from Zinzendorf's published and unpublished writings.[61] The first is a valuable scholarly contribution to the early colonial educational history of America and was intended by the author for translation into English and publication in America. The second is a compilation of scattered utterances of Zinzendorf arranged topically under thirty-six headings, hardly suitable for publication in its present form. Uttendoerfer, who is now Director of the Theological Seminary at Herrnhut, is probably the greatest living authority on Zinzendorf and an accurate interpreter of his many-sided character and service.

The present study is intended as a contribution to the understanding of the religious-educational theory and practice of Zinzendorf. It undertakes (1) a survey and partial analysis of Zinzendorf's published and unpublished educational writings; (2) an examination into his theory of child nature and nurture; (3) a study of Zinzendorf's organization of the Christian community for purposes of religious nurture and training; and on the basis of these (4) an evaluation of Zinzendorf's contribution to the theory and practice of religious education. In the Appendix to the study proper are assembled pertinent quotations from the more important published and unpublished educational writings of Zinzendorf together with a full bibliography of the source materials on which this study is based.

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[60] *Uttendoerfer: Erziehung fuer den Heiland,* ein Kulturbild aus der Zeit der Anfaenge der Bruedergemeinden in America.

[61] *Die Paedagogischen Gedanken Zinzendorfs.*

CHAPTER II

THE EDUCATIONAL WRITINGS OF ZINZENDORF

THE educational writings of Zinzendorf include: I. Catechisms. II. Biblical Writings, comprising commentaries, translations and paraphrases of parts of the Bible. III. Sermons and Addresses, especially those for and about children. IV. Hymns, Litanies, Odes, and collections of Memory Texts for children. V. Miscellaneous Writings. For convenience of reference all of these writings are numbered consecutively.

I. CATECHISMS

1. Zinzendorf's first catechism, *Lautere Milch,* 1723, is the earliest of his significant educational writings. It also best exemplifies his theory and practice of child nurture. It has only seventy-eight questions and answers and was originally published at Lobau as a single large sheet. Successive editions in this form were rapidly exhausted.[1] Form and content were subjected to severe criticism and its author ridiculed as a childish dabbler in a field requiring theological acumen and training.[2]

It is the *Pure Milk of the Teachings Concerning Jesus Christ* that is offered in the form of "very simple questions and answers arranged *in accordance with the comprehension of junior and little children, prepared with the best of intentions in honor of the Saviour, for the benefit of little children and*

[1] *Sp. Z. L.*, I, p. 254. The text is preserved in Freywillige Nachlese, Sammlung X, p. 1170. The full title indicates the purpose and method of the text. It reads, *LAUTERE MILCH DER LEHRE VON JESU CHRISTO, das ist, gar einfaeltige und nach Begriff junger und kleiner kinder eingerichtete FRAGE-STUECKE dem lieben Heylande zu Ehren, denen Kindlein zu Nutz, den Eltern zu einem Vorteil aus guter Meinung verfasset.*

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 255. Spangenberg says many who had looked to Zinzendorf to produce something significant in theology now dismissed him as a rather simple Kinder-Praeceptor. In the "Nachlese" to "Der deutsche Socrates," p. 311, Zinzendorf pleads that after their wearisome appraisal of the shortcomings of the little text his critics shall for once consider its points of excellence.

the advantage of parents." It was thus intended to be a text for the use of parents in teaching their little children. In it Zinzendorf breaks away from existing models of catechetical instruction all of which regarded children as miniature adults capable of comprehending the whole system of theology if only this be simplified and condensed sufficiently for their consumption.[3]

That Zinzendorf realized that his departure from the accepted standards of catechism construction[4] would be adversely criticized by schoolmen and theologians is suggested by his disavowal of any interest in what critics might think, or in any approbation from the learned. He assures the reader that "no approbation on account of this catechism is desired. It is not intended for clever folks, but has been written for the little ones whose angels at all times behold the face of our Father in heaven." In order that these little ones may become accustomed to the language in which God has spoken to men by inspiration of the Holy Spirit, simple Bible verses are added to the answers. These, it is pointed out, "are not intended as proof texts, but as

[3] Note especially those of Isaac Watts, 1730, and of the early Wesleyans discussed in the following pages.

[4] *Langemack, History of Catechisms*, II, p. 564, lists sixteen varieties in general use prior to 1733. They are:

1. Giving merely a textual explanation.
2. Adding proof texts without other explanation.
3. Giving explanations in their own words without proof texts.
4. Giving both explanation and proof texts.
5. With proof text plus other biblical examples.
6. Adding biblical narratives—(in extenso) "Historical."
7. Quoting explanations from authors other than Luther.
8. Making additions to Luther's text.
9. Explaining certain parts only.
10. Adding controversial material.
11. Aiming at the practical betterment of life rather than simply at defense of articles of faith.
12. Prayer Catechisms; Text Catechism and catechisms for the Refutation of Error, Catechisms of Comfort, etc.
13. Sermons on the catechism.
14. Catechetical analyses and expositions.
15. Tabular catechisms.
16. Catechetical disputations.

None of the examples described and quoted from by Langemack, however, approximate the naïve childlikeness and simplicity of this text.

merely belonging to the subject matter under discussion . . . because little children do not know the meaning of proof."

Beginning with that which is nearest and most real to the little child, as its own body and sense perception, the first group of questions (Questions 1-9) leads the child by a process of simple induction to the thought of the human body as the frail and perishable dwelling place of the spirit:[5]

1. Q. What are you? Are you a tree, or an animal, or a human person?

A. I am a human person. Bible verse: Matt. 8.9.

2. Q. Do you feel it when I take hold of you?

A. I can feel it well.

3. Q. What is this, is this not flesh?

A. Yes, that is flesh (Rom. 7.8).

4. Q. All this flesh which you have is called the body. What is it called?

A. The body (1 Cor. 6.19).

5. Q. Have you ever seen a person who has died?

A. Oh, yes (Job. 14.1).

6. What, then, is the matter with these people? The body is still here, is it not?

A. Yes, certainly the body is still here.

7. Q. How do you know, then, that the people have died?

A. They cannot speak any more, they cannot move any more.

8. Q. Do you know why not?

A. I do not know why not.

9. Q. Behold, dear child, the body is a dwelling place in which the soul or spirit lives. When this comes out, then the body or dwelling place cannot stir or move itself any more. Why, then, do people die?

A. Because the soul has moved out of the body (James 2.26).

The high destiny of the soul, which has come from God and is intended for heaven, and the alternative of hell awaiting

[5] Because of the importance and inaccessibility of this text, the full English translation is printed in the Appendix.

the disobedient, are presented in questions 10-18, after which the greatness, the goodness and the nearness of God, who is maker of heaven and of earth, are set forth.

19. Q. See, we are here in the church, there is the altar, there the pulpit, table, benches, etc. Has anybody made these things?
A. Oh, yes, somebody must have made them.

20. Q. Then some one must also have made heaven?
A. Yes, surely some one made heaven also (Gen. 1. 1).

21. Q. But who can have made heaven? That must have been a very great Person.
A. Surely that was a great Person.

22. Q. Perhaps it was the heavenly Father who made heaven?
A. Yes, God did make heaven.

23. Q. Who was it that made heaven?
A. The heavenly Father.

This heavenly Father is God, who made heaven and earth. He can do all things, is everywhere, even here with us also, and is good (24-28).

But the goodness and love of God do not prevent his being stern because he cannot tolerate evil or wickedness. This he himself has told us in the Holy Bible, which is a collection of record books in which men have written down what God wants people to do (29-35). In this written record too we have the story of how God who made heaven also made men beautiful and good, after his own likeness, and of how people through disobedience became unlovely and bad, just like the evil tempter himself (36-43). Then follows a word-picture of the fall of the first parents, who became sick unto death with the contagious malady called sin, caused by eating the fruit of the forbidden tree in the garden (44-49).

44. Q. Did the people become sick that they became so unlovely?
A. Yes, they became deathly sick and that is why they became unlovely.

45. Q. How did that happen? Did they perhaps eat something that made them sick?

A. Yes, yes, they ate something that made them so sick (Gen. 2.16a, 17b).

46. Q. Had the heavenly Father told them not to eat it?
A. Yes, the heavenly Father had forbidden it.

47. Q. But did they eat of the forbidden fruit after all?
A. Yes, they ate the forbidden fruit.

48. Q. And in that way they were disobedient to the heavenly Father?
A. Yes, they were disobedient to the heavenly Father.

49. Q. Is it perhaps because of their disobedience that people die?
A. Yes, that is the reason they die.

Zinzendorf's literalistic interpretation of the Garden of Eden story fairly illustrates his general attitude toward Old Testament narrative; but the simple language and familiar pictures employed in this text did convey to little children a very vivid sense of greedy disobedience and its dire and perfectly natural results.

In like manner the portrayal of Jesus as the Physician sent by the heavenly Father to heal his disobedient and desperately sick children, and the manner in which he actually helped people while on earth (50-57) and still helps each individual child (57-63), must have had an appeal for the imagination of children.

The concluding section of the catechism presents the Commandments cast in the form of simple rules of conduct, by the observance of which little children may show their gratitude and love for the Saviour (64-68). Children should love the heavenly Father, pray to him, learn, obey, not harm any one, not lie, not be greedy (69-78). The Commandments follow:

I

69. Q. The Lord Jesus desires that you should love the heavenly Father. Will you then do that?
A. Yes, I will love the heavenly Father.

II

70. Q. The Lord Jesus wants you to pray. Will you pray very often?
A. Yes, I will do that.

III

71. Q. The Lord Jesus would like to have you learn verses from the Bible. Will you learn them?
A. Yes.

IV

72. Q. The Lord Jesus would like to have you be obedient. Will you be that?
A. Yes, I will gladly obey.

V

73. Q. The Lord Jesus will be glad if you never do anything to harm anybody. Will you never harm anybody?
A. I will never do any harm to anybody.

VI

74. Q. The Lord Jesus does not like to see anyone eat or drink too much. You will not do that?
A. No, I will not do that.

VII

75. Q. The Lord Jesus desires that you shall not do wrong to anyone. Will you be careful?
A. Yes, I will be careful.

VIII

76. Q. The Lord Jesus cannot bear to have you tell a lie. Then you will not?
A. Oh, no, I will not lie.

IX, X

77. Q. The Lord Jesus is not pleased if you want everything that you see. You will not be so greedy?
A. No, I will not want to have everything.

78. Q. If you wish to do all these things, you must ask the heavenly Father for his Holy Spirit. Will you do that?
A. Yes, I will ask the heavenly Father for his Holy Spirit (Luke 11. 13).

Considered in the light of prevailing educational theories of his day and the general subject matter and method of religious instruction, this catechism alone would entitle Zinzendorf to more than passing notice in the history of religious education. The uniqueness and significance of the catechism appear more clearly

when it is compared with the *Shorter Catechism* of Luther in use at the time, or with other contemporary children's catechisms. Among the children's catechisms the most noteworthy were those of Isaac Watts and of the early Wesleyans. These reflect an interest in children and a sincere effort to simplify the approved statements of theological dogma for use with children. They do not reveal on the part of their authors any real understanding of either a child's limited range of concepts or the simplicity and limitation of his vocabulary, both of which are to a marked extent reflected in Zinzendorf's *Lautere Milch.*

Watts in the introduction to his *Catechisms for Children*[6] insists on simplification and gradation of subject matter for various age groups. He argues that "children should be taught to understand what they memorize," and that "catechisms should be graded according to the age of children."[7] In his rule for composing catechisms for children, however, the very first requirement is that "each catechism should contain (suited to different ages and capacities) an abstract of Christianity, or a view of our whole religion in miniature." Simple words and short sentences are to be employed in condensing the system of Theology into smaller compass for easy memorization by children.

In *"The First Catechism,* . . . for a young Child to

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[6] The full title reads: *Catechisms or Instructions in the Principles of the Christian Religion and the History of Scripture composed for Children and Youth according to their different ages, to which is prefixed A Discourse on the Way of Instruction by Catechisms, and the best manner of composing them, Isaac Watts, D.D., London, 1730.*

[7] Discourse on the Way of Instruction by Catechisms, in the Introduction to the Catechism itself. The actual catechisms include:

I. *First Catechism.* For the young child (ages 3–4). 24 questions and answers regarding God, Duty, Jesus Christ, Salvation, Judgment, Heaven.

II. *Second Catechism.* Child's Catechism (ages 7–8). 78 questions, with longer answers and with proof texts. Includes Commandments in shorter form and fuller explanation of Sin and Salvation.

III. *The Assembly's Shorter Catechism.* With an Exposition of the more difficult words inserted after each question and answer in dictionary form. (Ages 12–14).

IV. *A Preservative From Sins and Follies of Youth in Catechetical Form.*

be begun at three or four Years Old," the very first question and answer are:

1. Q. Can you tell me, child, who made you?
   A. The Great God who made heaven and earth.

God protects the child from evil (2) and the child in return must learn to know the Great God and do everything to please him (3). This he may learn to do from God's Holy Word (4). Then follows:

5. Q. Have you learned to know who God is?
   A. God is a Spirit; and though we cannot see him, yet he sees and knows all things.

To please God the child must do his "duty both toward God and toward man" (6), which means "to fear and honor" God, "to love and serve him and to praise him" (7). The penalty for not fearing God is his "anger" toward the "wicked child" (10), and "he is able to kill my body, and can make my soul miserable after my body is dead" (11). The way of escape is "to be sorry for my sins" (14), "for the sake of Jesus Christ" (15), who through his obedience, his sufferings and death saves from God's anger (16-20). He will come again to "call all the world to account" (21), and to reward both the wicked and the good (22). The catechism ends with the threat of "everlasting fire in hell among wicked and miserable creatures," for wicked children (23), and the promise of heaven for those who are good (24).

The *"Second Catechism, . . .* to be begun at seven or eight years of age," is the first catechism enlarged and expanded from twenty-four to seventy-eight questions. Extended Scripture references accompany each answer. The child is required to learn, "I was born with evil inclinations in my heart, and I have too much followed these evil inclinations in my life" (33). On the basis of this knowledge the plan of salvation is explained.

The early Wesleyan *Catechisms for Children*[8] include three

[8] The Catechisms of the Wesleyan Methodists compiled and published by order of the British Conference, revised and adapted to the use of families and schools connected with the Methodist Episcopal Church: No. 1 For children of tender years; with an Appendix, containing a short Catechism of Scripture Names; and Prayers for Little Children.

separate texts, the first of which is described on the title page as intended "for children of tender years," under seven years. This simplest of Wesleyan catechisms, like that of Watts, has fewer questions and answers than Zinzendorf's *Lautere Milch.* They are constructed, however, on the general principle laid down by Isaac Watts and include in brief compass a whole system of theology simplified only for purposes of easy memorization. The questions are grouped in five sections under the following headings: 1. Of God. 2. Of the Creator of Man. 3. Of the Fall of Man. 4. Of the Redemption of Man. 5. Of Heaven and Hell. The catechism opens with:

Q. Who made you?
A. God.

Q. What is God?
A. An Infinite and Eternal Spirit, one that always was, and always will be.

The closing questions include the following:

Q. Which are the chief means of grace?
A. Private and Public Prayer, searching the Scriptures, hearing God's Word preached, the Lord's Supper, and Fasting.

Q. How long is every Christian to use the means of grace?
A. To his life's end.

Q. Let me hear you repeat the Lord's Prayer.
A. Our Father which art in heaven, etc. [The prayer is printed in full.]

Q. Rehearse the articles of your belief.
A. I believe in God the Father Almighty, etc. [The creed is printed in full.]

In Catechism No. II—For Children of Seven Years of Age and Upward—the principles of the first catechism are enlarged; and Scripture proofs are placed under the answers. Catechism No. III—For the Use of Young Persons—is an "Exposition of the Evidences of Christianity and the Truth of the Holy Scriptures."

Compared with these catechisms of Watts and of the Wesleyans, Zinzendorf's *Lautere Milch* is better adapted to the interests and the capacity of children in several particulars. *Lautere Milch* is less theological and more pedagogical. The approach to each new idea or concept is inductive, from the known to the unknown. The simplified Commandments and the development of the idea of God as the Creator well illustrate this pedagogical method. The appeal throughout is more to the motive of love than to that of fear, the thought of the whole text moves in the realm and creates an atmosphere of trust and devotion rather than of commands and rewards. In these respects the catechism of Zinzendorf reflects the author's psychological insight and his understanding both of the limitations and the possibilities of religious experience for a child.

2. Zinzendorf's second catechism, *Gewisser Grund,* 1725, like the first, is a product of his early enthusiasm for religious education.[9]

In the writing of this text, as the title indicates, the author followed the well-beaten path of earlier and contemporary catechism production in using Luther's *Shorter Catechism* as the basis for a greatly amplified discussion of Christian doctrine in question and answer form. Since the answers to these supplementary questions are all given in the language of appropriate Bible references, the book belongs to the category of "Spruch-Catechismi," of which several were widely used at the time.[10] In contradistinction to his earlier, simpler children's catechism, Zinzendorf, in the introduction, calls this one "a theology." The

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[9] The full title in the original reads *Ludwig Grafens u. Herrn v. Zinzendorf Gewisser Grund Christlicher Lehre, Nach Anleitung des einfaeltigen Catechismi seel. Herrn D. Luthers, Auf die untrueghichen Worte H. Schrifft ohne menschlichen Zusatz und Griffe der falsch-beruehmten Kunst Zu Allgemeinem Gebrauch gestellet mit einer Vorrede M. Melchior Scheffers Minis-Sen. und Past. in Gorlitz zur H. Dreyeinigkeit.* Neue und verbeszerte Auflage, Leipzig and Gorlitz, in der Marcheschen Buchhandlung, 1735.

[10] For example, the Spruch-Catechismus of John William Peterson, published in Frankfurt and Leipzig in 1685, and the *Christbiblische Spruch-Catechismus-Schul* of Ebii Eberhard, printed in Hamburg in 1690. Cf. also Scheffer's remark, "Every religious teacher in the present day desires to have his own Catechism."

author of the preface, M. Melchior Scheffer,[11] however, speaks of it as a catechism in the true sense of "an interpretation of Christ and his teachings intended for children." Since many have missed, in *Lautere Milch,* the theological terms to which they are accustomed, and for this reason have found Zinzendorf's first production too simple, Scheffer hopes this second textbook "may not prove too difficult" for these same readers and critics.

Gewisser Grund is not intended for little children but for more general use, especially in the instruction of older boys and girls. Its significance lies in the originality of thought and the organization of the supplementary subject matter supplied by the author. This material reflects the personal religious experience and faith of Zinzendorf and reveals both a comprehension of biblical theology and a rich memory store of Scripture knowledge. It contains no borrowed material, "as anyone collecting and comparing all the current Spruch-Catechismi may easily verify."[12] This, moreover, was the catechism used in formal religious instruction in the Orphanage School at Herrnhut and among the Moravian congregations generally, until its suppression as unorthodox by order of the royal commission of 1736.[13] This charge of unorthodoxy lends special significance to Zinzendorf's supplementary questions and answers on the fourth commandment and on baptism. These sections, therefore, may well serve to exemplify both subject matter and method of this text.

Luther's smaller catechism, *Enchiridion,* which is incorporated and supplemented in Zinzendorf's *Gewisser Grund,* is distinguished from the remainder of this text by being made typographically more prominent. Luther's treatment of the fourth commandment, thus printed, includes the text of the commandment and one short paragraph explanation as follows:

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[11] One of the "Vier Verbundene Brüder." The other three were Zinzendorf, Watteville and Rothe, cf. Chapter IV, Ft. nt. 95.

[12] Scheffer, in the Preface to the text.

[13] The same commission that recommended Zinzendorf's banishment from Saxony which followed in 1737. *Sp. Z. L.,* p. 959f.

IV

Thou Shalt Honor Thy Father and Thy Mother That Thou Mayest Prosper and Live Long Upon Earth.

Explanation

What does that mean?

We should fear God and love him in order that we may not despise our parents or magistrates, or enrage them, but hold them in honor, obey, love and esteem them.

In further exposition of this commandment and of Luther's very brief explanation, Zinzendorf adds nine full pages with forty-one questions (139-179) and answers. The development of his thought and the biblical passages in the language of which he answers his own questions add greatly to the textbook value of the *Enchiridion* at this point. The questions and answers illustrate Zinzendorf's acquaintance with and his religious-educational use of the Bible. In the catechism the honor in which godly children hold their parents is set in sharp contrast with the attitude of the ungodly, Prov. 19. 26; Ezek. 22. 7 (139-141). It should extend to aged and feeble parents, Prov. 23. 22, and to all matters, Col. 3. 20 (143, 144). In this the boy Jesus has given us an example, Luke 2. 51, at the same time increasing in wisdom and stature and in grace with God and man, v. 52 (144, 145). This commandment is the first to which a promise is attached, Eph. 6. 23 (146). Love of parents, however, must not transcend love of God, Matt. 10-37; Luke 14. 26 (147, 148). Then follows the question:

149. Q. How shall parents regard and treat their children?
A. Ye fathers, provoke not your children to wrath: but nurture them in the chastening and admonition of the Lord (Eph. 6. 4).

It is possible for a parent to hinder a child's growth in righteousness, as did Ahaziah's mother, who "was his counsellor to do wickedly" (2 Chron. 22. 3, 4). Jesus said that his teachings would set "father against son, and son against father, mother against daughter and daughter against mother," Luke 12. 51, 53

(150). If parents require that which is contrary to the commandment of God, "One should obey God more than men," Acts 5. 29 (151).

Too great attachment to members of one's family may hinder the soul's welfare; Matt. 8. 22, Luke 9. 59-62 (152). The complete denial of human relationships for His sake may preserve one against evil, Deut. 33. 9. Jesus required no less of his disciples, Matt. 4. 21, 22 (153, 154).

Then follows a section in which the right mutual relation between servants and their temporal masters is similarly developed on the basis of Col. 3. 20-24; Titus 2. 9; 1 Tim. 6. 1, 2; 1 Pet. 2. 18; Eph. 6. 9 (156-164). The section ends with the question and answer:

165. Q. How in particular shall believing masters regard their believing servants?

A. No longer as a servant but as a beloved brother in the Lord (Phil. 3. 16).

In the remaining questions and answers (166-179) the relationships between earthly governments and their subjects, and between a believer and the government to which he owes allegiance are set forth. The last five questions (175-179) are an especially good example of Zinzendorf's method and skill.

175. Q. Have the children of God cause to fear government?

A. No, for rulers are not a terror to good work but to evil (Rom. 13. 3).

But a Christian should submit even to an evil government, Jer. 27. 12 (176), meanwhile seeking the welfare of his city or commonwealth, Jer. 29. 7 (177).

178. Q. Should not the children of God be called to freedom rather than to bondage?

A. Such is the will of God, that by well-doing ye should put to silence the ignorance of foolish men; as free, and not using your freedom for a cloak of wickedness, but as bondservants of God. Honor all men. Love the brotherhood. Fear God. Honor the king. (1 Pet. 2. 15-17.)

The discussion of baptism and the related doctrine of re-

generation in Luther's *Enchiridion* is couched in six questions and answers aggregating approximately three hundred words. Zinzendorf's further exposition in *Gewisser Grund* adds one hundred and forty questions and answers comprising over five thousand words. His introductory questions (1-17) trace the covenant idea in Old Testament history, with its sign of circumcision and its provision for atonement through sacrifice (18-19). These Old Testament sacrifices prefigured the greater atonement wrought by Christ (20-23). The new covenant spoken of in Jer. 31. 31-33, and which finds its fulfillment in Christ far transcends the incomplete older covenant and includes all nations (24-26). Of this new covenant relation the sign is baptism, which, therefore, takes the place of circumcision, Matt. 28. 18; Col. 2. 11-13; Gal. 5. 1, 2; Rom. 2. 28, 29; 1 Pet. 3. 20, 21; Rom. 3. 30 (27-34). For the efficacy of baptism faith is essential, Mark 16. 16; also the new birth and new life of the Spirit, 1 John 3. 5; 1 Cor. 6. 19, 20; 1 Pet. 2. 9; Rom. 11. 22, 23 (35-42).

Then follow the first two questions of Luther's catechism:

What is Baptism?

Baptism is not simply water alone, but it is water comprehended within the commandment of God and associated with the Word of God.

Which is this Word of God?

Where our Lord Jesus, at the close of Matthew, says: "Go into all the world, teach all nations and baptize them in the name of the Father, and the Son and the Holy Spirit."

In explanation Zinzendorf here adds:

42. Q. To what purpose is holy baptism instituted?

A. John says, "I baptize you with water unto repentance" (Matt. 3. 11).

43. Q. Must one then repent, to attain the kingdom of heaven?

A. Yes, Jesus says, Repent [Turn about, change your mind], the kingdom of heaven is near at hand" (Matt. 4. 17).

Repentance and faith must, therefore, accompany baptism if this is to constitute "the washing of regeneration," Titus 3. 5; or the burial with Christ through baptism, Rom. 6. 3, 4. There

are, moreover, other baptisms "of the Holy Spirit and of fire," which are (by implication) more important even than water baptism.

Thus does Zinzendorf predispose his readers and the students of his catechism to a conditional acceptance of Luther's next question and answer which immediately follow:

What does baptism accomplish or profit?

It worketh forgiveness of sins, saves from death and the devil, and gives eternal blessedness to all who believe it, in accordance with the words and promise of God.

What are these words and this promise of God?

Those in which our Lord Christ, at the close of Mark says, "Whosoever believeth and is baptized shall be saved, but he that believeth not shall be damned" (Mark 16. 16).

A single brief further reference to Luther's statement follows in question

53. Q. To what especially has baptism reference?
A. To the forgiveness of sins (Acts 2. 38).

Before proceeding to Luther's next question, "How can water accomplish such great things?" Zinzendorf introduces the subject of the baptism of children and their fitness for the kingdom of heaven. It is right to bring children to Christ who himself commands it, Mark 10. 13, 16 (55). Nor will a child be damned in case, through the neglect of others, he be not baptized, Matt. 18. 4 (56). Children are fit for the kingdom of heaven, to enter which adults must again become like unto them, Mark 10. 14, 15. Since obedience and faith are necessary to salvation, adults should receive instruction before being baptized. The words of Jesus are, "Teach all nations and baptize them," Matt. 28. 19. The instruction of the Ethiopian by Philip, Acts 8. 30-38, is an example (57-64). Then follows Luther's next question and answer:

How can water accomplish such great things?

Water indeed does it not, but the word of God that is present with the water, and the faith which trusts such word of God in the water. For without the word of God the water is just water and no

baptism; but with the word of God it is a baptism, that is, water of life in the kingdom of grace, and a washing of the new birth in the Holy Spirit, as St. Paul says, Titus 3, *"Through the washing of regeneration, and renewing of the Holy Spirit, which he poured out upon us richly through Jesus Christ our Saviour; that being justified by his grace we might be made heirs according to the hope of eternal life."*

Concerning this washing of regeneration and renewing through the Holy Spirit, Zinzendorf asks:

71. Q. How may this come about?

A. "The wind bloweth where it listeth and thou hearest the sound thereof, but knowest not whence it cometh, or whither it goeth; so is everyone that is born of the Spirit" (John 3. 8).

The evidence of such regeneration is to be found in the righteous and triumphant life of those having the experience, 1 John 3. 9, 10; 5. 4. Jesus himself is the door to the kingdom of heaven, John 10. 9; but only to those who believe on him, John 3. 16 (72-77).

The character, privileges, and obligations of the new life in Christ are brought out in questions 78 to 106, at which point Luther's final question and answer are inserted.

What, then, meaneth such water baptism?

It means that the old Adam in us, through daily repentance and penance, shall be drowned and die with all sins and evil desires, and rise again daily a new man, who shall live for God in righteousness and purity forever.

Where is this written?

St. Paul to the Romans, chapter 6, writes: "We were buried therefore with him through baptism into death: that like as Christ was raised from the dead through the glory of the Father, so we also might walk in newness of life."

The continued need of watchfulness, self-denial, prayer in the life of a Christian, the fruits of the Spirit that bring likeness unto Christ, the exacting requirements, the frequent need of forgiveness and the means of grace available to the Christian in his striving after Christlikeness are brought out in Zinzendorf's remaining questions and answers (106-140).

By thus supplementing and interpreting Luther's concise statements Zinzendorf undoubtedly meant to guard against a too literalistic and dogmatic interpretation of baptismal regeneration. To him baptism was an important means of grace, but not the all important condition or means of salvation. So far as his religious thought is reflected in this catechism the all-important matter for Zinzendorf was the conscious personal experience of salvation through faith in and communion with Christ and the continued and transforming indwelling of the Holy Spirit in the heart of the believer.

Following the publication of *Gewisser Grund* in 1725, no further catechism was produced by Zinzendorf or his Moravian associates until after the suppression of *Gewisser Grund* and the prohibition of its use at Herrnhut on recommendation of the Royal Commission of 1736. This order directed that thereafter Luther's catechism[14] should be used exclusively in the Orphanage and schools at Herrnhut. The findings of the Royal Commission in this regard were obeyed. Zinzendorf left Saxony in 1737 and settled in Wetteravia, where a new center of Moravian activities and institutions rapidly developed. Many of his coworkers followed him to this new center. Some of the institutions were likewise transferred from Herrnhut.[15] Others, including the Herrnhut Orphanage, began to decline.

3. Within three years of his departure from Herrnhut, however, Zinzendorf produced another textbook of Christian teaching in catechetical form,[16] *Lehr-Buch*. The first "trial" edition, written by Zinzendorf during his journey to Saint Thomas in the West Indies,[17] appeared in 1740. A second

[14] Of Luther's Shorter Catechism there was for Saxony an official edition known as the *Dresdener Catechismus*. It consists of Luther's Enchiridion with proof texts and explanations. Similar official catechisms were used in Bremen, Wuertemberg, Weimar, Strassburg, Meiningen, Muehlhausen and elsewhere. *Langemack, History of Catechisms*, II, 597ff.

[15] Footnote 76, Chapter IV.

[16] "*Probe Eines Lehr-Buechelgens vor die sogenannten Brueder-Gemeinden zu mehrerer Deutlickkeit und Gruendlichern Verstande Unsrer heiligen Wahrheit in diese Form gebracht.*"

[17] *Sp. Z. L.*, I, p. 1240.

revised edition appeared in 1742.[18] Both editions were printed at Beudingen by Joh. Christoph Stohr.

The second edition, which with minor changes and some amplifications follows closely the text of the first edition, has 1,713 numbered questions and answers. As in the case of the earlier catechism of 1725, the answers to the questions follow closely the words of Scripture frequently, however, in form of paraphrase or summary condensation. In this text Zinzendorf and his collaborators[19] break away entirely from the Lutheran model, returning instead to the simple inductive question-and-answer consideration of the Christian faith as interpreted by the Moravians in the light and on the basis of personal religious experience. This text contains no formal discussion of the Ten Commandments, the Apostles' Creed and Lord's Prayer, which constitute three major sections of Luther's text. Such considerations as are given to the sacrament of baptism and the Lord's Supper are inserted where they naturally would appear in the discussion of Christian experience.[20]

The catechism under discussion is not provided with headings and subheadings, although specially heavy type is used to indicate each new subject introduced. This typographical emphasis suggests in a general way the major sequence of thought. In the English edition it is incorporated with slight changes into a table of contents. Zinzendorf, however, explains[21]

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[18] Written by Zinzendorf but issued over the signature of the Moravian Bishops. Also printed the same year in English Translation in London under the title, *A Manual of Doctrine or a Second Essay to bring into the Form of Question and Answer as well the Fundamental Doctrines, as the other Scripture-Knowledge, of the Protestant Congregations who for 300 years past have been called The Brethren.*

[19] The dedication of both editions is signed by David Nitschmann, as Senior Bishop of The Brethren. Both editions are vouched for in a special preface signed "The Over-Seers and Bishops of Congregations of The Brethren." The introduction by the author does not bear Zinzendorf's name. His authorship is made clear, however, from the "Letter to the Author" by Bishop Jablonsky, Court Chaplain at Berlin, included among the prefaces to the second edition.

[20] The pages are small (2 in. x 3½ in.) with small type. In the second edition with twenty percent increase in subject matter, there are fewer though larger pages (2½ in. x 2¼ in.), the type remaining the same size.

[21] *Author's Introduction* to Second Edition, p. 30.

that the purpose of the book was not to give an authoritative rule and measure[22] of Moravian faith, but, rather, to reveal to the world the inner thought and spirit of the Brethren. "Therefore," says Zinzendorf, "I composed it out of the fullness of my heart without thinking much about order." The main thought of the text is "that the whole Bible is to us a revelation of Christ." Zinzendorf is willing to sacrifice logical arrangement in order that the words of Scripture which constitute the answers to the questions may have the closer and more immediate attention of the reader. "Christians have been portrayed as they may and should be," according to Scripture. Hence "the teachings intended for them are set forth as qualities which they possess."[23]

Taking the Christian's life of faith as the point of contact, the text of the catechism begins as follows:[24]

1. Q. How are you?
   A. I live (Gal. 2.20).
2. Q. For what?
   A. For Jesus' sake (John 14.6-9).
3. Q. Do you live rejoicing?
   A. I serve the Lord with gladness (Psa. 100.2).
4. Q. Whence comes thy state of well-being?
   A. I know whom I have believed (2 Tim. 1.12).
5. Q. Does faith accomplish such good?
   A. The righteous live by faith (Hab. 2.4; Rom. 1.17; Gal. 3.11).
6. Q. What, then, is faith?
   A. A firm ground of hope, and a conviction concerning things not seen (Heb. 5.9).
7. On whom believest thou?
   A. I believe on the Son of God (Acts 8.27; Matt. 16.16), the Author of eternal blessedness (Heb. 5.9).

For purposes of this study further consideration of this

[22] "Regel-Maas."

[23] Questions 1303ff, Second Edition.

[24] Translation by H. H. M., but compare English edition, Manual of Doctrine.

text may be restricted to those sections bearing more directly on Zinzendorf's theory and method of Christian nurture. In the discussion of the Kingdom, beginning with question 966 in the second German edition,[25] the conditions and procedure of attaining membership in the kingdom of heaven that is, salvation, are set forth:

1016. Q. What, therefore, is required for the entrance into Christ's kingdom?

A. To turn about and become again as a little child (Matt. 18. 3). To permit oneself to be helped (Acts 2. 40). To permit oneself to be reconciled (2 Cor. 5. 20). To permit oneself to be cleansed (John 13. 8).

1025. Q. How is all this accomplished?

A. Through faith (Eph. 3. 17).

1026. Q. But are not good works also necessary?

A. Faith is active through love (Gal. 5. 6).

1027. Q. Is there no need of good works if one believes?

A. If these things be in you, they make you that ye shall neither be barren nor unfruitful (2 Pet. 1. 8). We are his workmanship, created in Christ Jesus unto good works, that we should walk in them (Eph. 2. 10). Make the tree good and the fruit will be good (Matt. 12. 33).

1028. Q. What, then, is the cause of good works?

A. The love of Christ constraineth us (2 Cor. 5. 14).

1029. Q. Whence comes this love of Christ?

A. It is shed abroad in our hearts by the Holy Ghost (Rom. 5. 5).

Then follows a discussion of love as the secret and the compelling force in human redemption. This love on the part of God was revealed in the sending of his Son (John 3. 16), who is the object of saving faith on the part of the Christians (1030-1056).

1057. Q. What is the first and foremost feeling of a child of God?

A. He hungers and thirsts (Matt. 5. 6).

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[25] *Manual of Doctrine*, Question 964.

1059. Q. For what?

A. For righteousness.

1060. Q. What happens to him?

A. He is satisfied. He beholds God's face in righteousness. He is satisfied when he awakes (Psa. 17. 15).

1061. Q. When he bethinks himself, what does he discover?

A. He has regained the divine likeness (Psa. 17. 15) He is transformed into the same image from glory to glory (2 Cor. 3. 18).

Here Zinzendorf inserts a description of the experiences of one who, desiring to do good, finds that he does evil instead (Rom. 7), the inner struggle which results and the final triumph over sin and the devil, the armor which the believer must wear (Eph. 6. 13), and the impossibility of escape from repeated temptation and spiritual discipline (Phil. 4; 1 Cor. 11), 1062-1094.

1095. Q. What initiation is there into the kingdom of grace?

A. He saveth us through the washing of regeneration and renewing of the Holy Spirit which he poured out upon us richly through Jesus Christ our Saviour (Titus 3. 5, 6).

Baptism was instituted by Jesus, who himself gave us the formula (Matt. 28. 18, 19). Baptism symbolizes the laying aside of the old life and the putting on of the new life in Christ (1096-1105).

1106. Q. Is this something external only?

A. Not the putting aside of the filth of the flesh, but the answer of a good conscience toward God (that is a covenant in accordance with which a sinner may appear before God) (1 Peter 3. 21).

The right of children to baptism as already members of the kingdom of heaven is set forth in questions 1113 to 1120. The duties of teachers and other officers of the congregation appear in questions 1147 to 1154. The grouping within the congregation for purposes of religious instruction is suggested in 1164.

1164. Q. What gradation of membership has the congregation?

A. Children who know the Father (1 John 2. 13), young men who are strong to withstand the adversary (1 John 2. 14), men and fathers acquainted with him from the beginning (1 John 2. 14).

The relation that should exist between parents and children is suggested in questions 1417 to 1420.

1417. Q. How do Christian parents act toward their children?

A. They do not provoke them to wrath but bring them up in the nurture and admonition of the Lord (Eph. 6.4).

1418. Q. What is the attitude of believing children toward their parents?

A. They obey them in all things, for this is well pleasing to the Lord.

1419. Q. Who has, however, the preference?

A. The heavenly Father (Heb. 12.9).

1420. Q. What if the parents cannot understand this?

A. One must teach them that we must be about our Father's business (Luke 2.49).

With the wealth of light which Zinzendorf thus draws from related Scripture passages there remains for the student of his catechism little ground for a literalistic interpretation of the Lutheran doctrine of baptismal regeneration. Nor were Zinzendorf's enemies slow to discover the heresy implied in what they considered an unorthodox interpretation of baptism. Among all of the catechisms of Zinzendorf, this one seems to have called forth the most violent storm of protest from theologians and schoolmen who wrote and preached and taught against it.[26] In more thoughtful circles, however, and among the highest dignitaries of both the English and the German churches, the catechism was received with favor. The Archbishop of Canterbury and the Court Chaplain at Berlin were among those who wrote letters of appreciation and indorsement after having personally examined the textbook.[27] The popular opposition, however, resulted in the early discontinuance of the use of the catechism, although, as Zinzendorf was careful to explain in the introduction,[28] it

[26] *Sp. Z. L.*, p. 1242f. [27] *Sp. Z. L.*, p. 1241; *Bd. Sam.*, II, p. 671.

[28] Introduction to Second Edition. "Nor do we desire that this textbook shall subordinate or displace the Catechism of Luther. For no book has yet appeared to be compared with it, in which so much is set forth in brief compass."

had never been intended to supersede Luther's *Shorter Catechism* in the formal religious instruction.

4. The *Heiden Catechismus* furnishes in brief outline form instructions to be imparted to converts from paganism in preparation for baptism. There are fifty-three brief unnumbered questions and answers without Bible references or quotations. Zinzendorf speaks of this text as "an essay cast in the form of a catechism," and reminds the missionaries to whom it is sent that they are not obligated to follow the catechism further than to observe the order of important teachings suggested thereby. "The manner in which you shall thereafter in private discourses lead the baptized converts further or influence the unbaptized, that is left to your guidance by the Holy Spirit. The plan of the outline is to acquaint the non-Christian adult first with the person and mission of Jesus and to lead him to the acceptance of Jesus as Saviour and Lord before introducing him to any of the more difficult and controverted tenets of the Christian faith." The little text, therefore, was not intended as a general book of religious instruction but as a manual for the guidance of missionaries in the work of bringing non-Christian adults to a knowledge and acceptance of Christ. Its importance lies in the method of instruction to be used and which the text presupposes and emphasizes. The method proceeds inductively from a consideration of the life and deeds of the historical Jesus to the concept of God, whose character, will, and love Jesus exemplifies objectively.[29]

5. *Der Kleine Catechismus,*[30] one of two catechisms written while Zinzendorf was in Pennsylvania, 1741–42, was prepared for the use of German colonists of the Lutheran persuasion. It follows the plan of *Gewisser Grund* in incorporating Luther's *Enchiridion* and supplementing this in each of its parts with additional questions and answers. This supplementary material is very brief in comparison with the similar amplification of

[29] The text, with the covering letter of Zinzendorf to missionaries to whom the instructions were sent, is preserved. *Bd. Sam.*, III, pp. 402–409. Cf. also *Sp. Z. L.*, p. 1245.

[30] *Der Kleine Catechismus D. Martin Luthers, mit Erleuterungen.*

Luther's statements in the earlier catechism. Even in this briefer compass, however, Zinzendorf's questions and answers reflect a willingness to criticize and improve upon the theology of Luther. Thus in the introduction which appears under the heading, "Von Thurnstein[31] to *the beloved Lutheran Co-religionists,*" he says of Luther's catechism: "The catechism of Luther, like all human writings, is imperfect. In it Luther frequently speaks as he does not speak in other of his writings either before or after." After eulogizing Luther's catholicity and his skill in compressing certain fundamental truths into small compass and in wisely stating these, Zinzendorf explains that his own little text has been carefully and critically prepared with reference to the existence of many sects and diverse religious opinions among the German colonists and for the sake of conserving among these the essentials of the Lutheran religion.

The supplementary questions inserted in connection with the Lutheran Article IV, on Baptism, deal almost exclusively with the baptism of children as follows:

Q. Must a child be taught before it can become a disciple?

A. In the Old Testament circumcision was required of adults before they were received into the covenant relation. A child, however, was circumcised on the eighth day.

Q. Should the children of believers be regarded as unclean?

A. No, but as holy (1 Cor. 7. 14).

Q. Are they that by nature?

A. Those who are born not of blood, nor of the will of the flesh, nor of the will of man (1 John 1. 13).

Q. In what manner are they saved?

A. They are given to the Lord from their mother's womb. He becomes their refuge even while they are still in their mother's arms (Psa. 22. 10, 11).

Q. What thereafter?

A. Then he makes them blessed through the washing of regeneration and the renewal of the Holy Spirit (Titus 3. 5).

[31] Zinzendorf uses one of his many inherited titles, Von Thurnstein, prefixing thereto his first name, Ludwig, in order to remain incognito among the American colonists and thus avoid undue publicity and controversy because of his religious and philanthropic activities in Europe.

Q. And what should occur thereafter?

A. They should be brought up in the nurture and admonition of the Lord (Eph. 6. 4).

At this point is inserted Luther's question:

What giveth or availeth baptism?

It worketh forgiveness of sins, redeems from death and the Devil and gives everlasting Life to all who believe the words of God's promises.

After showing that even those who are baptized may again fall into sin and become even worse than before, and that, therefore, it is the *faith* of the individual that really worketh his salvation, Zinzendorf continues:

Q. May children, then, have faith?

A. Jesus says, "Whosoever offends one of the least of these that believe on me, it were better than a millstone were hanged about his neck" (Matt. 18. 6).

Q. Is it, then, necessary that one must understand in order to believe?

A. Luther says faith is a work of God in us which transforms and regenerates us and makes of us new persons.

Q. When does this occur?

A. When the love of God is poured out in our heart through the Holy Spirit (Rom. 5. 5).

This text differs from (2) *Gewisser Grund* further in that it includes a supplement also to Luther's "Haustafel," entirely omitted from the earlier catechism. This section consists of special Bible passages for different groups of people, including:

1. *Bishops and ministers:* 1 Tim. 3. 3; Titus 1. 1, 6-10. 2. *Listeners:* Luke 10. 7, 8; Gal. 6. 7; Thess. 15. 12, 13; 1 Cor. 9. 14; 1 Tim. 5. 17; Heb. 13. 17. 3. *Magistrates:* Rom. 13. 1, 2, 4. 4. *Subjects:* Matt. 22. 21; 1 Tim. 2. 1, 2, 3; 1 Pet. 2. 13, 14; Rom. 13. 5, 6, 7; Titus 3. 1. 5. *Married Men:* 1 Pet. 3. 7; Col. 3. 19. 6. *Married Women:* 1 Pet. 3. 1, 6. 7. *Parents:* Eph. 6. 5-8; Col. 3. 22. 10. *Masters and Mistresses:* Eph. 6. 9. 11. *Youth:* 1 Pet. 5. 5, 6. 12. *Widows:* 1 Tim. 5. 5, 6. 13. *Everybody:* Rom. 13. 9; 1 Tim. 2. 1.

6. *Der Kurzer Catechismus,* like the preceding catechism, was prepared by or under the direction of Zinzendorf[32] during his sojourn in Pennsylvania. It was written to encourage religious faith among the members of the Reformed congregations and to bring those of Reformed and Lutheran persuasions into a common fellowship of believers as German colonists. Johannes Bechtel, whose name appears on the title page as publisher—as Benjamin Franklin's name appears as printer—was pastor of the Reformed congregation at Germantown and represented that church in the successive conferences conducted by Zinzendorf during his short stay in America. The catechism is not based on the standard Heidelberg catechism, as might have been expected, but on the Declaration of Faith and Practice adopted by the Synod of Bern, 1532. This declaration had first come to Zinzendorf's notice during his visit to Geneva in 1741,[33] and consists of an introduction and findings in the form of a formal declaration regarding matters of faith, practice, and teaching to be observed by the pastors of the city and county of Bern, two hundred and thirty of whom were in attendance. Zinzendorf found in this declaration such a clear statement of the essence

[32] The full title reads: *Kurzer Catechismus Vor etliche Gemeinen Jesu Aus der Reformirten Religion in Pennsylvania, Die sich zum alten Berner Synodo halten: Herausgegeben von Johannes Bechteln Diener des Worts Gottes.* The writer has found no positive statement anywhere in the works of Zinzendorf or contemporary writers to the effect that Zinzendorf is the author of this catechism. The evidence on this point, though convincing, is entirely circumstantial. The catechism is based on the Articles of the Synod of Bern which Zinzendorf greatly admired and zealously promulgated among the Moravian congregations in Europe. (*Sp. Z. L.*, II, p. 1331) and among the German colonists in America (*Auth. Relat.* pp. 53, 65, 66). It was prepared during Zinzendorf's sojourn in Pennsylvania and when completed was presented by him in manuscript form at the Fifth Conference of German communions convening in the Reformed Church at Germantown of which Bechtel the publisher (Herausgeber) was pastor (*Bd. Sam.*, III, p. 96). The conference, presided over by Zinzendorf, approved the catechism whereupon it was immediately put to press (*Auth. Relat.*, p. 97). It is included in a bibliography of Zinzendorf's writings published by Spangenberg in 1774 and in the more expanded bibliography, *Verzeichniss der Schriften des Grafen Ludwig von Zinzendorf*, printed in Stettin in 1824.

[33] It bears the title *Berner Synodus: Ordnung wie sich die Pfarrer und Prediger zu Statt und Land Bern, in Leer und Leben halten sollen, mit weiterem Bericht von Christo und den Sacramenten. Sp. Z. L.*, II, p. 1331.

of the gospel of Christ and of redemption through his blood that he recommended the document to the Moravian synods as a suitable text for pastoral instruction.[34] The catechism itself consists of 246 questions which an eager learner asks of a Christian and the answers which the Christian gives. There are no subdivisions except as such may be inferred from the appearance here and there of typographical differences in the body of the text. As in the case of the catechisms already described the answers are Scripture verses or paraphrases. The distinguishing feature of the catechism compared with all the preceding is the entire absence of any trace of Luther's interpretation of the sacrament of baptism.

The discussion culminating in reference to baptism follows:

73. Q. How may one become a child of God?
A. As many as receive him to them he gives the right to become the children of God.

74. Q. What advantage have they over others?
A. They believe on his name.

83. Q. How does this take place?
A. When he becomes a child of God, God sends the spirit of his Son who cries "Abba, Father." He is the advocate of believers (Gal. 44. 6; Rom. 8. 27).

89. Q. What memorial have we of all this?
A. The memorial of baptism in the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost (Matt. 28. 19).

Baptism is thus the memorial, not the means, of man's salvation. Of that salvation God, in Christ, is the beginning and the end.

90. Q. Who is your Creator?
A. Jehovah created man (Gen. 2. 7).

91. Q. Who is your redeemer?
A. Christ hath redeemed us (Gal. 3. 13).

92. Q. Who is your sanctifier?
A. Jesus says, "I sanctify myself for them that they also may be sanctified" (John 17. 19; 1 Cor. 1. 2; 6. 11).

[34] The complete Record and Declaration are preserved in *Buedingische Sammlung. Bd. Sam.*, I, pp. 705–70.

96. Q. Who helps him draw man unto himself?

A. No one can come to him unless the Father draw him (John 6.44).

Taken together, the catechisms of Zinzendorf constitute the most complete group of his literary productions. With the exception of these catechisms his writings are mostly fragmentary. He finished little. The greater degree of completeness that characterizes his catechisms was due chiefly to the fact that, with the exception of (1) *Lautere Milch* and (4) *Heiden Catechismus,* Zinzendorf's own contribution to these catechisms consists in selected and largely supplementary Scripture materials which he found ready to hand in his work of selecting and of expounding daily Scripture mottoes (Loosungen) for the congregation.[35]

Considering together the six catechisms, these are characterized by simplicity of language, which is largely biblical, though frequently in Zinzendorf's own rendering of the Scripture text.

Insofar as Zinzendorf is not under the necessity of incorporating credal statements from other earlier texts, there is also simplicity of ideas, which are for the most part adapted to the comprehension of the immature.

The selection and grouping of the biblical material which constitutes so large a part of all of the texts is informing and reflects with remarkable accuracy those religious conceptions of the Old and New Testaments which it is desired that the student of the catechism shall understand, and through the comprehension of which he may hope to achieve growth in grace as well as in knowledge.

To the extent to which this is true the author's approach in these catechisms is psychological and not didactic. He introduces no new credal statement for which the basis has not been laid through inductively developed appreciation of the significance of that statement for personal experience.

The emphasis throughout is on experience rather than on intellectual credence. This is most evident in (1) *Lautere Milch,*

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[35] *Sammlung der Loosungen,* selected principally by Zinzendorf, for thirty-one years, 1731 to 1761.

(3) *Grund-Lehren,* and (4) *Heiden-Catechismus,* in which Zinzendorf makes no attempt to follow earlier patterns.

With the exception of (1) *Lautere Milch,* and (4) *Heiden-Catechismus,* all of the six belong to the category of "Spruch-Catechismi" and are therefore lacking in that richness of subject matter which personal comments of the author might have supplied.

Of the six (1) *Lautere Milch,* intended for little children, is the most characteristically Zinzendorfian. It is also the first catechism for children in which subject matter is consistently and thoroughly subordinated to method in the interest of meeting the child on his own plane of thought and experience. As already suggested, this catechism alone would entitle Zinzendorf to more consideration in the history of religious education since the Reformation.

II. Biblical Writings

The biblical writings of Zinzendorf consist of translations, paraphrases, and commentaries. Among these are several ambitious undertakings, such as a translation of the complete New Testament, a paraphrase summary of the Pauline epistles, and later of the whole Bible beginning with the Old Testament, none of which Zinzendorf succeeded in completing. These unfinished works, however, were printed and have been preserved. Together with commentaries and translations of separate portions and books of the Bible, they reveal a familiarity with the Bible in the original Hebrew and Greek, and a pedagogical zeal for the spread of religious knowledge by making the Bible available in understandable form for the common people.

These biblical writings of Zinzendorf fall naturally into three groups—Translations, Paraphrases and Commentaries. The writings of each group may to advantage be considered together. They are numbered in the order of publication.

Translations. Strictly speaking there are only two translations, numbers (9) *First Timothy,* and (15) *The New Testament.* The translation of the First Epistle to Timothy is preserved as the first document in the early collection of Zinzen-

dorfiana printed in 1740 under the title *Kleine Schrifften.*[36] In the brief Introduction, dated 1734, Zinzendorf defends his right to offer a new translation from the Greek on the basis of the current practice of theologians of consulting the Bible in the original languages rather than contenting themselves with Luther's translation. He assures the reader that this *"Versuch"* is a tentative translation, which he intends revising for final publication and wider distribution. He explains that it has been prepared without consulting any other similar translations or without taking counsel with contemporary authorities. He intends, however, to avail himself of such help in the preparation of the second or revised edition. The introduction concludes with an invitation to scholars and societies interested in such matters to favor him with their criticisms. With this request he sent copies to a number of biblical scholars and theologians. The criticisms received and the comments of Zinzendorf on these criticisms are preserved in *Freiwillige Nachlese,* pages 16-43 and 129-143. The revised edition constitutes the text of First Timothy in the 1739 translation of (15) *The New Testament.* In it many of the suggestions made by the critics of the first edition were incorporated; others were definitely rejected and commented upon and still others simply ignored.[37] Spangenberg records that the first translations of Second Thessalonians and of First Corinthians were also made during this year, 1734.[38]

[36] *Des Grafen von Zinzendorf und Pottendorff Der Boehmischen und Maehrischen Brueder Hochwuerdigen Bischoffe KLEINE SCHRIFFTEN, Gesammelt in Verschiedenen Nachlesen Bey den bisherigen gelehrten und erbaulichen Monaths-Schrifften Nebst einigen andern erbaulichen Blaettern.* This important collection of shorter documents by and about Zinzendorf and the Moravian Brethren consists of thirteen separate parts printed in two volumes, Vol. I, pts. 1–6, and Vol. II, pts. 7–13. Each part has the separate title *Der Freiwilligen Nachlese, Bey der biszherigen Gelehrten und Erbaulichen Monaths-Schrifften,* etc. I Sammlung (Ditto, II Sammlung, etc.). As printed in this collection, the translation of Timothy bears the title *Wohlgemeinter Versuch einer Ubersetzung der ersten Briefs Pauli an den Timotheum aus dem Griechischen, dem Publico Christlicher Pruefung und genauer Zensur ubergeben von Einigen Liebhabern der Heil. Schrift.*

[37] As clearly evident from a comparison of the two translations with the extended criticisms,—Frw. Nchl., pp. 1–43; 129–143; (15) *Eines Abermaligen Versuchs,* 1746 (1Tim.).

[38] *Sp. Z. L.,* II, pp. 874–75.

In these early endeavors at translation, Zinzendorf invited the collaboration of friends and associates. Meetings of the collaborators at Herrnhut were not made the occasions for a critical discussion of the accuracy or inaccuracy of the translation, but, rather, for a prayerful study of the message of the biblical writer.[39]

The translation of (15) *The New Testament* published in 1739 and again in two parts in 1744 and 1746 is incomplete, the letters of James and Jude and the Second and Third Epistles of John being omitted. The translation of a number of the books included was made by Zinzendorf during his journey to the West Indies in 1737-1738. Apparently, these were forwarded to friends in Germany and printed without being edited or finally approved by Zinzendorf himself. Only the second edition is acknowledged by him as authentic.[40] Of this second edition, Part I, issued in 1744, contains the Gospels and Acts; Part II, issued in 1746, the remaining books of the New Testament with the exception of Second and Third John, James, and Jude. Because of the sharp criticism to which the earlier (1739) edition was subjected, Zinzendorf tried to call in and destroy the entire first edition. For purposes of record, the prefaces to both parts of the first edition were retained in the second, together with an "After-Comment" (*Nach-Rede*) enumerating the criticisms brought against the various books of the first edition. The *Nach-Rede* also contains a versified antiphonal rendering of First John under the title "The General Epistle of John as a Hymn of the Church." In point of arrangement of the various books, Zinzendorf does not follow Luther. This deviation in arrangement was primarily to avoid paralleling Luther and thereby incurring the suspicion of offering a competing translation of the New

[39] *Bd. Sam.*, I, pp. 528–50.

[40] *Sp. Z. L.*, p. 1220. Spangenberg calls the first edition an unripe fruit and Zinzendorf in the Nach-Rede incorporated in the second edition disavows his intention of its being put in print. It is to the second edition, therefore, that the above discussion is devoted. The full title to the second edition reads *Eines Abermaligen Versuchs zur Uebersetzung Der Historischen Buecher Neuen Testaments Unsers Herrn Jesu Christi aus dem Original Erste Probe zweyte Edition Von den vorigen Schreib-Druk und andern Fehlern gebeffert.*

Testament. Zinzendorf wishes the books to serve, not as a new translation competing with that of Luther for general acceptance and use, but, rather, as a source book for comparative study of the individual books of the New Testament.[41] The contemplated final revision never appeared. Zinzendorf did not wish, he said, to proceed with the third edition, for the reason that other scholarly translations had since appeared and that consequently the immediate need for this text in the Moravian congregation no longer existed. The second edition, which is the most nearly complete of all of Zinzendorf's longer biblical writings, was widely distributed and quite generally used among the Moravian congregations both in Europe and America.

Paraphrases. There are five paraphrases of parts of the Bible, all similar in purpose and form.[42] Zinzendorf himself explains his purpose in paraphrasing parts of the Bible. He has hesitated to give his rendering of the original the authority of the inspired biblical writer by calling it a translation, preferring to set forth the message of the inspired writer in current popular speech, that is, "in stilo relativo," or "relatorio." Such freer renderings would offer less embarrassment to a further revision than would a literal translation. At the same time they permit an equally accurate rendering of the message of the original.[43] In relation to the stately text of Luther's translation, they occupy a position very similar to that which modern English versions hold to the text of the American Standard and King James Versions.

All of the paraphrases are supplied with footnotes, mostly in the nature of cross-references to other biblical passages. Some, however, are in the nature of personal comments of the author.

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[41] *Vorrede*, Second Edition.

[42] (11) 1734—*Die sogenannte Berg-Predigt des Herrn Jesu.*
(10) 1734—*Erzehlung des allgemeinen Briefes Judae in Stilo Relativo.*
(12) 1734—*Probe der H. Offenbahrung in Stilo Relatorio* (6).
(17) 1752—*Enchiridion das ist, Haupt-Summa der ganzen Heil. Schrift*, republished in 1760 as—*Des Seligen Ordinarii Fratrum Letzte Bible-Arbeit im Alten Testamente.*

[43] Frw. Nchl., I, p. 68. *Probe einer genauen Erzehlung der Heiligen Schrifft.* An introduction to the paraphrase of the Epistle of Jude.

Thus the paraphrase of verses 20 and 21 of the Epistle of Jude[44] reads:

You, however, beloved, maintain yourselves in the love of God by establishing one another in your most holy faith and by prayer in the Holy Spirit, and thus maintain your consciousness of the mercy of Christ unto everlasting life.

Zinzendorf's footnote is:

Hold fast to the mercy of Jesus Christ until you attain life eternal. The expression may mean that thus they might have a certain claim upon the mercy of Christ, corresponding with what is said of Simeon, Luke 2. 25; or, perhaps, that they should put their dependence upon the mercy of their Saviour, not trusting the merit of their fidelity and punctiliousness or their growth in grace and in spiritual communion, as is suggested in 2 Pet. 3. 15; Gal. 2. 20, 21; Heb. 5. 9.

Again Zinzendorf paraphrases the first beatitude,

How blessed are they who are poor in spirit! To them belongs the kingdom of the heavens.[45]

In the footnote he adds "of both heavens, the kingdom of grace as well as the kingdom of glory."

His paraphrase of Rev. 2.17 reads:

To him who overcomes, I will give to eat of the hidden manna and the white voting tablet, and on the tablet shall be his new name known to no one but to him that receives it.[46]

The footnote explains:

In Athens voting was by means of tablets (Ostracismus). We vote by means of ballots, in Venice they used solid spheres. The figure of speech here employs the first of these.

A few of the footnotes are more in the nature of personal speculations of the author. Thus, in the *Enchiridion* the promise to Benjamin, Gen. 1. 49, is paraphrased.[47]

"Benjamin will become exceedingly wealthy. He will concern himself with this day and night and will succeed."

Zinzendorf's footnote is even more speculative than is his paraphrase. It reads:

[44] Frw. Nchl., I, p. 73. *Probe einer genauen Erzehlung der Heiligen Schrifft.* An introduction to the paraphrase of the Epistle of Jude.

[45] *Ibid.*, p. 76. [46] *Ibid., p. 150.* [47] *Letzte Bibel-Arbeit*, p. 53.

If there be reason to believe, as is probable, that most of the Jews who are scattered throughout the world and of whom few could claim membership in the tribe of Judah, were Benjaminites, then we would have in this fact a ready key to the interpretation of the prophecy.

That is, Zinzendorf thinks that the character and condition of the Jews with whom his readers are familiar furnish the key, an ungenerous suggestion quite out of harmony with his own habitual attitude.

The paraphrase of Genesis given in the (17) *Enchiridion*[48] appears in the later edition (20), *"Letzte Bibel Arbeit,"* in revised and slightly abbreviated form. The paraphrase of Exodus included with Genesis in the later work was not printed until after Zinzendorf's death and without his personal revision.[49] The editor of this later edition, in his appended comment,[50] suggests that if Zinzendorf had been privileged to complete such a rendering of the entire Scriptures, this larger work would have reflected both the understanding and the spirit of Zinzendorf as a teacher of the Word of God. Now, however, it is necessary to search his scattered writings and public discourses for this revelation of his exceptional ability as an interpreter of the Bible.

Commentaries. The designation "commentaries" applied to Zinzendorf's biblical writings here listed is used in a broad sense, including verse by verse interpretations, connected expositions, and interpretative summarizations of the Bible text. The earliest of this group of writings is (7) *Letzten Reden.*[51] This comprises the last conversations of Jesus with his disciples, John 14-17, rendered in versified form, with extended notes and cross-references to other Bible passages.[52] Spangenberg has pointed out that the versified rendering of the text was not original with

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[48] London, 1752. [49] Editor's comment appended to *Letzte Bibel-Arbeit.*

[50] *Ibid.*, p. 93.

[51] *Die Letzten Reden Unsres Herrn und Heilandes Jesu Christi von seinem Creuzestode,* etc. in *Verzeichniss der Schriften des Grafen Ludwig von Zinzendorf,* p. 2; Sp. Ž. L., Register and p. 328.

[52] *Ibid.*, p. 153.

Zinzendorf, but was based, with alterations, on the earlier similar work of Heitz.[53] As early as July 23, 1720, Zinzendorf, in a letter to Herrn Von Bonin in Ebersdorf, wrote, "At the present time I am occupied with working over and adding somewhat to the story of our Lord's Passion, which I have found here, splendidly annotated and rendered in versified form by this Herrnhausvogt Johann Georg Heitz, a Swiss, in his native dialect." Evidently, however, Zinzendorf succeeded in making his High German version and amplification of Heitz's original interesting and winsome. It was published in Wittenberg, 1722, and in Frankfurt and Leipzig, 1725. The highly laudatory introduction is by one of Zinzendorf's Wittenberg professors, Johann Casper Haeferung.

Among the shorter biblical works of 1734 are two commentaries (13) on Ecclesiastes,[54] *Summarischer Inhalt des Predigers Salomo,*[55] and (14) *the Song of Solomon.*[56] Both are expository commentaries on the books with which they deal, setting forth the biblical writer's message in the language of the commentator.

(16) *Bibliotheoria Catholica* is a German text with a Latin title. It consists of sixteen commentary lectures covering the epistles ascribed to Paul, including Hebrews, originally delivered by Zinzendorf at the Brethren House, Bloomsbury Square, London, between November 1 and December 30, 1749.[57] They are fragmentary and loosely connected summaries of those points in the epistles that attracted the interest of Zinzendorf.

The author's emphasis throughout is on those passages that set forth the relationship of the believer to Christ; the mystery

[53] The manager of the estate of Zinzendorf's aunt at Nuernberg where Zinzendorf was visiting at the time. Later this man joined the new Moravian colony at Herrnhut, being the first to build a house there.—*Die Anfaenge Herrnhuts*, p. 78.

[54] *Frw. Nchl.*, III, p. 73ff.

[55] *Eines Gelehrten Theologi Summarischer Inhalt der Zusammenhaengenden Rede des Predigers Salomo.*

[56] *Kindliche Einfaelle ueber den Zusammenhang des Hohenliedes Salomonis, wie es von der Seite der Trennung und Gemeinschafft angesehen worden. Ibid.*, IV, p. 440ff.

[57] Footnote in the text, p. 53.

and glory of his gospel of redemption; the blessedness of the contemplation and proclamation of his suffering, exaltation, and promised return; the dependence of the disciple and especially of the religious teacher on the Holy Spirit and the fruits of that Spirit in life and conduct.

Other Biblical Works. The miscellaneous biblical works include three of the most significant and useful of Zinzendorf's texts. Of these (8) *The Ebersdorfer Bibel* belongs to the group of earlier publications sponsored by an inner group of sworn associates,[58] and other friends, the purpose being to furnish an inexpensive popular edition of the Luther's Translation of the Bible for the poor with such introductory and explanatory helps as would make the reading of the text more profitable. It was printed at Ebersdorf in 1726 under the title (8) *Ebersdorfer Bibel.*[59] Zinzendorf refers to this Bible as principally the work of his collaborators.[60] He himself contributed the general Introduction and short summaries introductory to each chapter, those of the New Testament and the book of Psalms being especially noteworthy.[61] Zinzendorf also assisted his friend, Pastor Joh. Andr. Rothe, in preparing the extensive dictionary commentary of important and difficult words and phrases appended to the text. The book contains Luther's Introductions to the Old and New Testaments and to Romans, and Johann Arndt's brief Informatorium Biblicum. The publication was made possible by the financial assistance of Zinzendorf's grandmother, the Countess of Gersdorf.[62]

A brief summary will indicate its content and scope. "Here,

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[58] Die Vier Verbundene Brueder.

[59] *Die Ganze Goettliche Heilige Schrift, altes und neues Testaments, nach der deutschen Uebersetzung D. Martin Luthers.* From the Second Edition 1727 preserved in the Bethlehem (Penna.) archives.

[60] *Darlegung richtiger Antworten,* pp. 89, 90.

[61] These summaries for Psalms and the New Testament were also printed separately under the title *Aneinander Liegende Summarien des Neuen Testaments und des Psalters.*

[62] *Sp. Z. L.,* p. 373. The copy consulted is in the Moravian Archives at Bethlehem.

dear people, you have the mighty Book which so often and in so many different forms has made its appearance in the world. . . . In it you will find revealed the secrets of the heart of God. Its contents include the law, preserved through the extreme diligence of the rabbis and by the unseen hand of its divine Author; the prophets, whose voluntary proclamations were made in the language of the people among whom they lived and to whom they spoke with confidence of the future. Here too are the record of the fulfillment of those prophecies in the life account of the great divine-human Christ, the utterances of the Word made flesh and the account of the suffering and triumph recorded by faithful witnesses." It behooves man to know the Almighty. To do so man must be taught. The publication of the Bible in all languages and in hundreds of thousands of copies is a response to this need. To the divine character of this book the learned bear manifold testimony. One criterion, however, is sufficient and available to all. "He that wills to do the will of my Father, he shall know of the teaching whether I speak the truth." The secret of assurance lies in personal experience of the student. But decision and inquiry are necessary with obedience even when the way of truth's discovery seems too simple, as did the prophet's instructions to Naaman. Zinzendorf then appeals to the reader to make the test and gives his own experience with regard to the convincing and inspiring influence of the Word in his own life. The Bible commends itself as trustworthy because of its simple purpose to bring happiness to men. Even the lowly may comprehend its essential message when enlightened by the Holy Spirit. Zinzendorf closes with an appeal to the aristocracy and to royalty to accept the Bible as they would a communication from a dear friend, and to experience in the diligent study of the Bible the joy of the discovery and fellowship of God, to recognize and acknowledge that God appeared in Christ in the flesh and that his degradation and suffering actually constituted a robe of honor and glory, wherefore it is in his state of humiliation and suffering that we are to think of him constantly.

(18) *Geschichte des Menshensohnes,*[63] a harmony of the narratives of the life of Christ, is Zinzendorf's free translation of the connected story taken from all four Gospels. It was published in 1757, revised in 1759, and after Zinzendorf's death rewritten and edited by the Rev. Samuel Lieberkuehn.[64] Lieberkuehn's revised edition formed the basis of later English editions printed in London and America and in which the text of the King James Version is used. The section of the Harmony covering Passion Week was published separately in many editions in Germany, England, and America. It still constitutes the textbook for use in connection with Lenten and Easter services of the Moravian congregations both in Europe and America.

(19) *Gemein-Tags-Lectionen* are Bible expositions, largely in the form of paraphrases, of selected passages of Old and New Testaments delivered by Zinzendorf at the regular and special festal days of the congregation at Herrnhut. They include one hundred and fifty-two numbered expositions of which Nos. 127-152 are separately dated, December 7, 1751, to December 29, 1753, inclusive. The entire collection subsequently was published without title page or date. The observance of Gemein-Tage, or church days, with special services for Bible exposition, prayer, singing[65] and personal testimony dated from 1727. Two years later, 1729, they had become a monthly institution[66] and so continued with increasing value to the congregation and marked more and more by a special form of service.[67] Gradually the Bible expositions and discussions were made a matter of record. Those appearing in the (19) *Gemein-Tags-Lectionen* were delivered at these meetings. Of these the compiler of the Zinzendorf bibliography of 1824 says they constitute Zinzendorf's "force"

[63] The title page date of this edition is 1759, but the final editorial note, p. 188, is dated July 12, 1760 and mentions Zinzendorf's death, which occurred May 9, 1760. (18) *Die Geschichte der Tage des Menschensohnes. Erste Probe* (15). See p. 48ff. See also appended editor's note in text (18).

[64] Moravian clergyman and editor appointed by the Synod of 1769 to prepare the textbook for the religious instruction of children under the title *Die Lehre Jesu Christi und seiner Apostel zum Unterricht der Jugend in den Evangelischen Bruedergemeinen,* published in 1774. *Cranz. Br. Hist.,* II, p. 10.

[65] *Sp. Z. L.,* p. 475. [66] *Ibid.,* p. 544. [67] *Ibid.,* p. 868.

as an expositor. The published *Lectionen,* however, seldom deviate from the strict paraphrase, or free though often summary rendering of the text. Such "force" as they contain consists in Zinzendorf's ability to put into forceful popular language the thought of the biblical writers. In the later *Lectionen* there are short chorus responses interspersed between sections of the exposition. These are short sentence prayers or hymn phrases and were spoken or sung by the congregation.

Like most of Zinzendorf's literary work, with the notable exception of the catechisms, his biblical writings are fragmentary and incomplete. This was due chiefly to the restless, active career thrust upon him by his association with and responsibility for (1) the refugee community and congregation at Herrnhut, and (2) the rapidly expanding work of the reorganized Unity of the Brethren.[68]

Of all of these writings, one has survived the passing of two centuries and is still in common use in the Moravian congregations. This is the revised edition of Zinzendorf's (18) *Geschichte des Menschensohnes.* Although made over both as to chronological arrangement of events and in the translation of the text, this *Harmony of the Gospels* represents a distinctly Zinzendorfian contribution to Moravian religious literature. It is at present in use chiefly in its abbreviated form covering the events of Holy Week. In this form, however, it is still found in practically every Moravian household.[69]

Zinzendorf's translation of the New Testament into German[70] likewise is still found here and there in the libraries of German Moravian families, both in Europe and America. Taken together with the daily Scripture mottoes[71] (Loosungen), these

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[68] *Unitas Fratrum.* The organization was not a separate church but a fellowship or association of congregations ecclesiastically affiliated with different churches, chiefly Lutheran, Reformed, and Episcopal.

[69] For information regarding the present use the author is indebted to President O. Uttendorfer of the Moravian Seminary at Herrnhut and Prof. W. N. Schwarze of the Seminary at Bethlehem, Pennsylvania.

[70] (15) *Abermaligen Versuch zur Uebersetzung des Neuen Testaments.*

[71] *Loosungen.* For discussion see p. 84ff.

biblical works demonstrate the continued intense interest of their author in the contents and use of the Holy Scriptures. They likewise reveal his zeal for accuracy of translation, that is, for a rendering of the biblical writer's thought in current speech that will convey its meaning vividly and accurately to the ordinary reader. These writings, moreover, are evidence of Zinzendorf's passion for extending the knowledge of the Bible as a personal possession and treasure, understood and preserved in the memory of the individual, as well as in easily accessible printed form.

The *Introduction to the Ebersdorfer Bibel* is a good illustration of Zinzendorf's best style and demonstrates both his reverence for the Bible as the Word of God and his confidence in its continued appeal to the heart and the intelligence of mankind.

Among all of these writings the one on which in later years Zinzendorf placed his greatest hope of its continued usefulness was his (17) *Enchiridion,* intended as a Bible extract or summary for children.[72] This shorter children's Bible, the Kinder-Loosungen, and the Hymns and Litanies for children and youth together were intended to give a dependable record of the saving ministry of Jesus and a life picture and character portrait of Him who was their supreme model.[73]

III. Sermons and Addresses

The printed sermons and addresses of Zinzendorf constitute a very large part of his prolific literary output. Arranged and published under series titles, they constitute more than twenty octavo volumes, his printed addresses as a rule being abbreviations of the spoken originals.[74] To understand the content, form, and language of most of these addresses it is necessary to bear in mind (1) the Moravian habit of worshiping and teaching through song, and (2) the use of daily Scripture mottoes with subjoined antiphonal responses consisting mostly of individual

[72] *J. H. D.*, June 26, 1758.

[73] Cf. *Kd. Red.*, address on Unser Original delivered to the students of the Paedagogium at Herrnhut, May 1758. Also *J. H. D.*, June 26, 1758.

[74] *Auszuege.* Cf. titles and title page descriptions in the pages that follow.

hymn phrases. The Moravian hymnal,[75] like the Old Testament Psalter, was of gradual growth, and at the time of Zinzendorf's death contained various successive collections from the Greek, Latin, Lutheran, Old Moravian, and New Moravian hymns,[76] to which subsequently were also added the hymns of Watts, the Wesleys,[77] and more modern composers. At the time of Zinzendorf's death the hymnal contained more than three thousand numbered hymns. Of these Zinzendorf wrote more than six hundred. Many of the hymns contain a dozen and even a score of stanzas, and were not as a rule intended to be sung through. It was customary to sing a single appropriate stanza from any hymn before, after, or in the midst of sermon, testimony or prayer service, as the subject matter happened to apply and the impulse of the individual worshiper or leader might prompt.

The Moravian custom of using daily Scripture mottoes was inaugurated at Herrnhut in 1728. Until his death in 1760, Zinzendorf personally prepared or directed the preparation of the annual and semiannual printed lists of these mottoes. These, with their antiphonal hymn responses, constituted the texts or topics of Zinzendorf's daily addresses to the congregation and to special choir groups.[78] After the year 1736 it became customary to keep a written record of all that transpired at these daily and special Sunday and festal day services of the congregation. These diary proceedings of the congregation contain sometimes partial and sometimes verbatim records of the addresses delivered. They constitute the original sources from which the larger number of Zinzendorf's printed sermons and addresses subsequently were compiled.

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[75] Discussed more at length on p. 72ff.

[76] In the Edition of 1760 these collections were included in chronological order by centuries.

[77] The Hymn Book in current use in Moravian congregations in America contains thirty-eight by Zinzendorf, forty-three by Charles Wesley, and twenty-nine by Watts.

[78] The Loosungen for the years 1731 to 1761, complete with fragments also from 1729, are preserved in four bound 8vo volumes aggregating 2682 pages. *Sammlung der Loosungen und Text-Buechlein der Brueder Gemeine*, Barby, 1762.

In the order of their production, the volumes thus compiled include:[79]

(21) Seven sermons on the deity of Christ, delivered before Zinzendorf's departure for America; declared by Zinzendorf to have been inaccurately reported.[80]

(22) Two volumes of addresses on daily Bible texts.

(23) Bethel addresses.

(24) Talks to children. This collection comprises eighty-six addresses to children and young people, selected from among the daily talks delivered over a period of three years, May, 1755, to May, 1758. The last address is on "Our Example," referring to Jesus as the Example for persons of all ages.[81]

In connection with each numbered address are given the date, place, and choir group to which the talk was given. The selection for publication was made by Zinzendorf himself. The principle of selection is suggested in the author's letter to the children and the explanatory introduction intended for adults. To the children Zinzendorf writes:

> Dear children who believe on Him:
>
> Here are some of the talks which I have given to your little play-fellows in our German congregations . . . .
>
> I cannot blame you for desiring to read them, not because they are worth so very much but because they will remind you of your little friends whom you love and who love you.
>
> One thing more. The wonderful Person (Mann) who is the God of heaven over all, and to be praised forever, who has made time and eternity, about seventeen hundred years ago, lived here on earth like one of us from infancy to manhood, from his birth to his grave. With his human body and the marks of his suffering, for he died on a cross, he rose again and ascended to heaven. We may also expect that he will visit the earth again sometime, for the last

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[79] (21) *Die sieben letzten Reden vor der Abreise nach America gehalten 1741.* Buedingen, 1743. (22) *Gemein-Reden im Jahr 1747 gehalten,* (2 Vols.) Erster Theil (1748) und Zweyter Theil (1749). (23) *Bethel Reden.* Barby, 1758. (24) *Sammlung Einiger von dem Ordinario Fratrum waehrend seines Aufenthalts in den Deutschen Gemeinen von Anno 1755 bis 1757, gehalten Kinder-Reden.* Barby. Zu finden bey dem Seminario Theologico, 1758.

[80] *Apol. Schft.*, p. 228.

[81] *Kd. Red.*, p. 447.

hour can hardly be farther away than the time which has already passed since he was here.

This Person you will find in this booklet and you may believe that so much as I know about him (and that is not so much as it is great and important, for what can be more important than his suffering for us?) that I have surely told my little brothers and sisters.

I bring them often to his remembrance and myself with them. I would rather be little than grown-up or great, and certainly feel that I am,

Your little

FELLOW-CHILD AND BROTHER.

Thus it is the purpose of these talks to impress upon the children the importance of the life example, suffering, and death of Christ. With the story of his life and with the meaning of his martyrdom the children were already familiar through the songs and services of their own choirs and through the general services of the congregation. Of this fact Zinzendorf reminds the parents and teachers in the introductory word to adults. The familiarity of the children with the language of the hymnal and the fact that they now have their own hymns and memory texts[82] make it desirable that teachers and parents who use these talks with children shall emulate the example of the author in making full and constant use of the language of both hymns and Bible verses. The printed talks are intended in part as a textbook for the responsible choir leaders of the congregation.

From the standpoint of present-day child psychology these printed sermons and addresses, dealing as they do with Zinzendorf's favorite theme of the suffering and death of Christ, and reflecting the language of the highly emotional hymns bearing on this theme, would scarcely be considered suitable material for the religious instruction of children. However, considered in the light of the environment and the religious group within which they were produced, these talks appear quite in harmony with the predominating emphasis upon personal, emotional experience as the starting point and impelling force of Christian conduct.

[82] Kinder-Loosungen were in use since 1754, prior to which time the children participated in use of the Daily Texts of the Congregation.—*Sam. L. T. B.*, III, p. 457f.

They contain, moreover, many excellent passages which, like Zinzendorf's catechism for children,[83] reflect a measure of insight into child nature and some ability to adapt subject matter and method to the needs and capacities of little children. Considered together with the best of the other unpublished addresses to children still available in the manuscript diaries of the congregation, many sections of these printed addresses bear tribute to the pedagogical insight and skill of their author.[84]

(25) *Reden ueber Biblische Texte*[85] includes Zinzendorf's sermonic expositions of daily Scripture mottoes taken from the books of the Pentateuch, Genesis to Deuteronomy, and covering the years 1747 to 1759. In the introduction to Volume I the editor, Gottfried Clemens, summarizes Zinzendorf's teachings with regard to the nature and character of God and the relationship and respective functions of the three persons of the Trinity, in Volume II he sets forth Zinzendorf's position with regard to theocracy and the divine-human economy of temporal and ecclesiastical administration. The introduction to Volume III discusses Zinzendorf's attitude toward the nature, contents and interrelationship of the Law and the Gospels. Clemens intended to edit all Zinzendorf's talks on Bible texts from Genesis to Revelation in one series, but when the assembling and editing of these three volumes was completed, he was persuaded to undertake next the compilation of addresses on the four Gospels (26). Four out of six of these he completed before his death, leaving the unfinished task to others who carried to completion only the talks on the Gospels.

(26) *Reden ueber die vier Evangelisten.*[86] This is a collection of sermons, addresses, and fragments bearing on Gospel

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[83] Lautere Milch der Lehre von Jesu Christo—cf. p. 15ff.

[84] Cf. discussion in Chapter III. Selected addresses hitherto unpublished are included in the Appendix.

[85] Herausgegeben von Gottfried Clemens, Erster Band, 1763, Zweyter Band, 1764, Dritter Band, 1765.

[86] Erster Band (1766), Zweyter Band (1767), Dritter Band (1769), und Vierter Band (1773), herausgegeben von Gottfried Clemens; Fuenster Band (1781), und Sechster Band (1792), von Jacob Christoph Duevernoy.

texts from Matthew to John inclusive and covering the years 1738 to 1759. Apparently, the editors have undertaken to bring together all of the utterances of Zinzendorf on any part of the text of the four Gospels. In the introduction to Volume I, Clemens, the editor, exonerates the Moravian congregation from responsibility for the points in Zinzendorf's teachings deviating from strict adherence to the Augsburg Confession. For these, he explains, Zinzendorf alone must be held responsible. He then explains and defends Zinzendorf's habit of using foreign words and phrases, his peculiar metaphors, allusions, and frequent use of expressions borrowed from hymns. In the introduction to Volume IV he discusses Zinzendorf's conception of the work of Jesus as a prophetic teacher (prophetische Lehrart unsers Heilandes), including the question of the origin and organization of the early church. The introduction to Volume V is brief and factual in character, regarding the work of compilation and editing. Volumes VI, VII, and VIII are without editorial introduction.

The remaining volumes, Nos. 28 to 37, contain sermons and addresses delivered on special subjects and occasions. Some of these were more informational and pedagogical than inspirational. In the order of their production they include the following:

(28) *Jeremias.*[87] The life and work of the prophet Jeremiah are here set forth as a biographical manual for Christian teachers. The introduction expressly states that it is not intended for the populace or for ordinary readers. The content is in lecture commentary style, assembled in five discourses. The discourses treat of the call of Jeremiah, the relationship of Jeremiah to the political authorities of his time, Jeremiah's relation to contemporary teachers and religious leaders, and Jeremiah's message to the world at large. The significance of Jeremiah's mes-

[87] *Jeremias, Ein Prediger Der Gerechtigkeit, Allen Redlichen Predigern in der Evangelischen Religion, Einfaeltig und als ein Exempel, Wie man in seinem Amt mit Gott, mit der Obrigkeit, mit seinen Zuhoerern ueberhaupt, und mit seinen Bruedern insonderheit, wandeln koenne, Vor Augen gestellet. Aufs fleiszigste revidirt und sum zweyten mahl wieder auf-gelegt.*

sage to the children of God is set forth, with emphasis on the responsibility of the Christian teacher toward those of the household of faith.

(29) *Pennsylvanische Reden.*[88] This is a collection of sermons and addresses delivered by Zinzendorf to the German colonists in Pennsylvania during the early part of 1742. The collection comprises two volumes with twenty-eight sermons and addresses. These are really verbatim though incomplete reports taken at the time the addresses were delivered. During Zinzendorf's stay in Pennsylvania he served as pastor of the evangelical Lutheran congregation in Philadelphia[89] and conducted a series of interchurch conferences with a view to establishing a co-operating fellowship among various Protestant groups of German colonists.[90] At the first of these conferences those present adopted a credal statement on the basis of which all were to have continued fellowship. This statement, inspired if not actually dictated by Zinzendorf, constitutes a good summary of his public preaching to these same groups as recorded in the *Pennsylvanische Reden.*[91]

(30) *Gemein Reden*[92] are addresses delivered on special occasions during the years 1744 to 1746, dealing with the doctrines of the Trinity and with the organization and work of the Christian Church.

(31) *Reden ueber wichtige Materien*[93] are sermons preached in Fetterlane Chapel, London, between August and October, 1746. They deal with prayer, faith, the blessedness and essential characteristics of a Christian, and with the fact and joy of the nearness of Christ to the Christian believer.

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[88] The predominating title is (29) *Reden von dem Herrn, der unsere Seligkeit ist, und ueber die Materie von seiner Marter, in Nord-America gehalten 1742. Bued. 1744, 2 Vol.* Two variations from this are: (a) *Eine Sammlung oeffentlicher Reden, 1742 in Canada gehalten, 2 Thle. Buedingen 1744;* and (b) *Oeffentliche Reden, vom Pastor zu Philadelphia gehalten 1744, 28 Reden.*

[89] *Sp. Z. L.*, II, p. 1393. *Bd. Sam.*, p. 828.

[90] *Auth. Relat.*, p. 9. [91] *Ibid.*, pp. 11–15 inclusive.

[92] *Zwey und Dreyszig einzele Homiliae Oder Gemein Reden.* No date.

[93] *Neun Oeffentliche Reden ueber wichtige in die Religion* einschlagende Materien, Gehalten zu London, Anno 1746. No date.

(32) *Homiliæ ueber die Wunden-Litaney.*[94] This collection contains a much criticized series of addresses on separate brief sections of the equally much criticized *Litany of the Wounds* used in special services in commemoration of the suffering, agony, and martyrdom of Jesus.[95] The subjective contemplation of the suffering of Christ is in this Litany carried to a sentimentally fantastic extreme. The complete Litany is prefixed to the addresses together with an introduction by Zinzendorf and a dedication to his wife. In the dedication, Zinzendorf credits the Countess with having been among the most consistent and devoted advocates of emotional fervor, which he identifies with spiritual vitality, in members of the congregation. It is her Man and Saviour whom he will portray in these pages and whom she, because of His continued presence with all who have learned intimately to love Him, may daily greet with adoration.[96] In the introduction Zinzendorf explains his own experience of "continued contemplation of the sufferings of Christ."[97] The determination of the apostle Paul expressed in First Corinthians and elsewhere "to know and preach nothing but Christ and him crucified" is Zinzendorf's warrant for the subject matter and manner of his preaching. He would point his listeners and readers to the hands and side of Jesus and make his suffering for their sake a conscious and constraining reality to them. "He who has innocently regarded our *Litany of the Wounds* as the product of imagination or as a collection of pompous nonsense, for him I covet the grace from God that he may read impartially these meditations that have come to my mind spontaneously from the reading of the Litany text." These words of Zinzendorf himself are perhaps the most favorable interpretation and defense that can be made of these addresses.

(33) *Discourse ueber die Augsburgische Confession.*[98]

[94] *Vier und Dreissig Homiliae ueber die Wunden-Litaney der Brueder, Gehalten auf dem Herrnhaag in den Sommer-Monathen 1747, von dem Ordinario Fratrum.* Without place of publication. No date.

[95] This Litany appeared first as Hymn No. 1949 in Supplement XII of the Hymnal.

[96] *Dedication*, p. 3. [97] *Introduction*, p. 1.

[98] *Ein und Zwanzig Discurse ueber die Augsburgische Confession* gehalten vom 15 Dec. 1747, bis zum 3 Mart. 1748. Without place of publication. No date.

These discourses were delivered to the students of the seminary at Marienborn. One address is devoted to each of the twenty-one articles of the Augsburg Confession. The volume also contains the Declaration of the General Synod of 1748 concerning the strict adherence to the Augsburg Confession on the part of the Moravian congregation affiliated with the Presbyterian and Episcopal Churches.

(34) *Ehe-Chor Reden*[99] contains brief selected talks delivered before the choir of married persons during the period 1744 to 1747. The compilation of these addresses was made by Zinzendorf or someone close to him. The title page credits the publishing to a village pastor in Oberlausitz,[100] the province in which Herrnhut is located. In his unsigned introduction this publisher claims accidentally to have discovered these talks and offers them as evidence of the iniquity and evil-mindedness of Zinzendorf and his colaborers at Herrnhut.

In judging these intimately personal addresses it is important to have in mind the occasion and circumstances of their delivery. Special choir meetings for married people dated from the early beginning of the congregation at Herrnhut. A vivid picture of these meetings is given in the *Beschreibung von Herrnhut,* published in 1735.[101] It is recorded in this description that "matrimony among us is held in high esteem. It is prepared for, entered upon, and continued with much prayer in order that the bearing of children may be sanctified and that the Holy Spirit may begin its work in the children even before birth."[102]

(35) *Londoner Reden.*[103] Among the sanest, strongest, and most logical of Zinzendorf's public utterances, these addresses set forth his interpretation of (1) Luther's brief comments on the third article of the Apostles' Creed: "I believe on Jesus

[99] *Haupt-Schluessel zum Herrnhutischen Ehe-Sacrament, Das ist: des Hrn. Grafen von Zinzendorf an das Ehe-Chor gehalten Reden,* Frankfurt und Leipzig, 1755.

[100] Von einen Oberlausitschen Dorf-Pharr.

[101] *Bshr. Hhts.*, p. 50. [102] *Ibid.*, pp. 50–52.

[103] This is the popular title for the volume *Einiger seit 1751, von dem Ordinario Fratrum zu London gehalten [Predigten in Dreyen Haupt-Abtheilungen.* London und Barby, 1756.

Christ"; (2) The blessed nearness of God to the Christian believer and (3) the Christian conception of God the Father.

(36) *Berlinische Reden.*[104] As in *Londoner Reden,* Zinzendorf here discusses thoughtfully and logically the statements of the Apostles' Creed.

(37) *Zeyster Synodal Reden*[105] is a collection of addresses delivered before the Synod of Zeyst on the daily Scripture mottoes covering the period of the Synod's session. This is perhaps the best collection of Zinzendorf's addresses on daily Scripture mottoes.

The very large number and variety of Zinzendorf's published and unpublished sermons and addresses bear witness to the important place which they occupied in his total teaching program. They reveal on the part of Zinzendorf an ability to adapt his language, subject matter, and method of approach and presentation to the interests and capacities of various social and age groups, including children.

In regard to content the sermons and addresses throughout are Christ-centered, and experience-centered, often mystical and emotionally motivated. They emphasize the importance which Zinzendorf attaches to the experience of conscious fellowship with Christ as both the starting point and the goal of religious development.

The close relationship in Zinzendorf's teaching method between worship and instruction makes it necessary to consider his addresses in connection with the hymns, litanies, and daily Scripture portions which for Zinzendorf constituted a vital part of the total material of instruction.

IV. Hymns, Litanies, and Memory Texts

Of a highly emotional nature, Zinzendorf turned naturally

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[104] *Des Ordinarii Fratrum Berlinische Reden,* nach dem vollstaendigen und von ihm selbst eigenhaendig revidirten Exemplar, in Druk gegeben von Gottfried Clemens, London und Barby, 1758.

[105] *Des Ordinarii Fratrum auf dem Synodo der Brueder zu Zeyst vom 11 Mai bis 21 Jun. 1746 geausserte Haupt-Ideen und bey jedes Tages verlesenen Schrift-Texte gethane Erinnerungen.* Von Ihm selbst revidirt und ausgefertiget herausgegeben von Gottfried Clemens, London und Barby, 1759.

to poetry as an expression of religious feeling. There was scarcely an important occasion in his life that he did not commemorate with a song or poem. At the age of thirteen the suffering he endured from discipline and persecution at Halle inspired a poem[106] descriptive of the suffering of our Lord, and its efficacy for our redemption. In it there is already discernible the mystical tendency that dominated his whole public and private life.

In like manner, his first communion,[107] his disappointment in love at twenty,[108] his despair of finding God by way of philosophy at twenty-two,[109] his marriage,[110] the births and birthdays of his children,[111] the arrival and departure of friends,[112] festal days of the congregation,[113] each red-letter day in his personal or ecclesiastical calendar[114] drew from him an outburst in verse. In the poem *"Vollendung einer fuenfjaehrigen-fortgewaehrten Betrachtung Gottes,"*[115] written at twenty-two, Zinzendorf gives expression to the philosophical, theological outlook which after prolonged inner struggle he had attained and from which subsequently he did not deviate. One of the best of Zinzendorf's poems, it is preserved both in *Deutsche Gedichte* and in the first Moravian hymnal.[116] The stanzas, given here in English, illustrate the spirit and style of Zinzendorf and show his complete surrender to the Christ-centered philosophy that henceforward dominated his life and teaching.

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[106] *Deutsche Gedichte*, 1735, p. 11.

"Du truer Heyland! allerliebstes Leben!
Ich, dein Geschoepff, muss zittern und erbeben
Vor diener schweren Leibs-und-Seelen-Plagen,
Die dich geschlagen.

"Drum habe Dank, Du edler Freund der Seelen!
Ach! nimm uns ein in deine Seiten-Hoehlen;
Draus wollen wir den Boesewicht bekriegen
Und wollen siegen."

[107] *Dtch. Ged.*, p. 12.

[108] *Sp. Z. L.*, I, p. 159.

[109] *Dtch. Ged.*, p. 59.

[110] *Ibid.*, p. 63, Hochzeits Gedanken.

[111] *Ibid.*, pp. 107, 174, 217, 303, 345.

[112] *Ibid.*, pp. 152, 289.

[113] *Ibid.*, pp. 160, 206.

[114] *Ibid.*, pp. 156, 236, 363.

[115] Also appears under the titles "*Die Tiefen der Gottheit*" and "*Allgegenwart.*"

[116] No. 6.

OMNIPOTENCE

(Selected Numbered Stanzas)

IV

"What man shall venture to define
The nature of thy being, God unseen!
And not be mocked by all who read
What he presumes to write of Thee?
He must, forsooth, with highest art and skill
Of language say that neither he
Nor anyone shall ever—except as Thou
Revealest Thyself—know anything at all of Thee.

VII

"I leave Thee: Thou art too high,
Too deep, O God! Too great and luminous
For one still yoked to human form,
Still hampered by enshrouded vision!
How came creation to Thy mind?
If even a prince among Thy creatures
Has failed the path that leads to Thee,
Then whither shall another creature flee?

VIII

" 'Cease then thy search for that so distant;
Refrain from seeking what but evades thee!
Thou hast the surely proven kernel,
Why strive for that which is external?
Project not meager light of human spirit
To eternity's circumference afar
Lest outer darkness only thou encounter
And yet not find me anywhere.'

X

"Behold now, ye people! Covered over
Are all the deep abysses.
Behold enshrouded majesty
In Jesus, meek and lowly child!
See if he be not Grace in human form,
See if, indeed, he merit not your praises!

In whosesoever heart his love abide
In faith, his anxious care is put aside.

XI

"Eternity, O Light Divine!
Refulgence of the Lord of Glory!
O Love, that breaketh forth from heaven
To dwell in lowly hut with me!
Here shall I find Thee, here stretch forth my hands
And though I may not yet behold Thee,
That too shall sometime come to pass
While now I love and serve, believe, and am at peace."

All of Zinzendorf's poems are religious. The printed collection of 1735 contains a number of hymns included also in various editions of the Moravian hymnal. Christian Gregor, in 1778, refers to the hymn-poems in *Deutsche Gedichte* as among Zinzendorf's best and permanently most serviceable.[117] As a hymn writer, Zinzendorf must be counted a noteworthy contemporary of Isaac Watts and Charles Wesley.[118]

Zinzendorfian Hymnals. The early Moravian hymnals compiled and edited by Zinzendorf, despite their shortcomings,[119] are nevertheless a monument to Zinzendorf's religious outlook and influence, to his evangelical zeal, and to his emphases and method in religious teaching. Many of the hymns he wrote himself. Of these more than six hundred survived Gregor's revision, constituting approximately one third of the total contents of the 1778 edition. Zinzendorf's first hymnal was compiled and issued in 1725, before the organization of the congregation at Herrnhut.[120]

(39) *Sammlung geistlicher und lieblicher Lieder.* 1725. This first hymnal was intended for the use of the Berthelsdorf congregation and in the devotional services conducted in Zinzen-

[117] *Historische Nachricht vom Brueder-Gesangbuche* des Jahres 1778, und von dessen Lider-Verfassern, p. 29.

[118] Cf. Footnote 77 in this chapter.

[119] The shortcomings are discussed in connection with particular hymnals referred to in the following pages.

[120] Cf. *Christliches Gesang-Buch der Evangelischen Brueder Gemeinen von 1735.*

dorf's own home and attended by intimate friends[121] and a few of the residents of Herrnhut who were either specially devout or anxiously concerned about their spiritual welfare. This first collection of nine hundred and seventy-two hymns was the basis of a long series of subsequent hymnals covering more than a century of Moravian history. It was sharply criticized chiefly by theologians and pastors of established Lutheran and Reformed churches.[122] Successive editions appeared in 1731 and 1734. A revision of both content and title was made in 1735, thereby producing a new hymnal, at least in name.

(40) *Christ-Katholisches Sing- und Betbuechlein.* 1727. Without place of publication.

This hymnal was not intended for the Moravian congregations so much as for devout Christian people in the Roman Catholic Church. It reflects Zinzendorf's interest in church unity and interchurch amity and co-operation. In it were incorporated many hymns from Johannes Angelus' *Heilige Seelenlust* of 1657.

(41) *Christliches Gesang-Buch der Evangelischen Brueder Gemeinen.* 1735. Without place of publication.

This was a revised and enlarged edition of No. 39 with one group of hymns which had been specially criticized entirely omitted.[123] Concerning these Zinzendorf writes in the Introduction to the revised edition: "The entire group dealing with the subject of Spiritual Anointing has been purposely omitted because these particular hymns as found in the earlier edition are in no wise our own and do not express accurately the teaching of the Holy Scriptures on this subject, and therefore contain matters which we are not disposed to defend."[124] Since the earlier collection of 1725 antedated the organization of the Herrnhut congregation, this revised and enlarged hymnal of 1735 is generally considered as the first hymnal of the reorganized

[121] Including the members of the Bund der vier Brueder.

[122] The Reformed clergymen criticized some of Luther's hymns included in the collection, while both Reformed and Lutheran clergymen attacked hymns taken from the Hussite and Waldensian sources. Cf. *Zinzendorf's Introduction.*

[123] Nos. 164–170.

[124] Introduction to *Christliches Gesang-Buch der Evangelischen Brueder Gemeinen von 1735*, p. 3f.

Unitas Fratrum. It included translations and adaptations from (1) the early Christian hymns prior to the year 600; (2) classic hymns from Roman Catholic sources before the Reformation; (3) hymns of the Reformation, thirty-seven of which were by Luther; (4) hymns from the Pietistic revival under Spener and Franke; (5) hymns from the earlier Moravian collections, and (6) hymns contributed by Zinzendorf and other leaders of the reorganized Moravian Church. The basic collection consists of the nine hundred and seventy-two of the 1725 collection, with Nos. 160-174 missing. To these were added: (1) 1737—Supplements I to VIII, increasing the total to 1,370; (2) 1741—Supplements IX and X, including hymns 1371 to 1681; (3) 1745—Supplements XI and XII, hymns 1682 to 2156; (4) 1749—Four additional briefer supplements, "Zugaben," hymns 2157 to 2357.

These supplements contain chiefly the newer Moravian hymns written by Zinzendorf and contemporary leaders. The four shorter "Zugaben" date from 1745 to 1749 and are hymns originating in local Moravian congregations in Wetteravia during a period of extreme emotional revival amounting to mystical fanaticism.[125] Although Zinzendorf disowned and ordered to be discontinued the most objectionable of these, including all in the last two "Zugaben," he was not himself innocent in the matter of the use of objectionable language[126] in hymns which he composed for the choirs of unmarried young men, unmarried young women, and married people.[127] A careful reading of the complete hymn in each case, however, makes it seem reasonable to believe that there was in the mind of the author no unchaste thought, but that he permitted himself, under the influence of a wave of extreme emotionalism, to exceed every reasonable re-

[125] Cf. Zugabe XI, hymns 2157 to 2367, especially those composed for use in the choir of unmarried young men, the choir of unmarried young women, and the choir of married persons.

[126] Not only morbidly mystical but also sexually suggestive.

[127] Cf. Supplement XI, nos. 1819, Jahrs-Lied, vor Eheleute; 1843, Ein Kirchen-Lied von der Ehe; 1844, Kirchen-Lied fuer die Jungfern; 1845, Kirchen-Lied vor die ledigen Brueder; 1862, Ich muss es nur gesteben. No. 1949 in the *Wunden Litaney* to which Zinzendorf devoted a series of sermons in 1747. Cf. above.

quirement of plainness of speech in hymns intended to idealize the marriage relationship and to sublimate sex passion in unmarried young people at a time and under conditions of real danger to the moral standards of the congregation. Each of these choir hymns, moreover, was intended solely for the use of the restricted group for which the particular hymn was written. A very large proportion of all the hymns in the entire collection were of a decidedly mystical tenor, in the main glorifying the vicarious suffering and death of Jesus. Some of these were translated from the German and found their way into other Protestant hymnals and are still in use. Three of these by Zinzendorf are: "Jesus, Lead Thou On,"[128] still popular in Evangelical Lutheran churches, and two translated by John Wesley and best known by their first lines: "Jesus, Thy Blood and Righteousness,"[129] and "O Thou, to Whose All-Searching Sight."[130] Most of them, however, are no longer in general use, having accomplished their mission like the once popular though forgotten hymns of Gerhard and Woltersdorf.

Among the very large number of Zinzendorf's hymns, many of them inspired by all sorts of intimate personal experiences, there are comparatively few that reflect the extreme, morbidly mystical tendencies of his character. Considered in the spirit in which they were composed, even these appear less objectionable than they do under critical, objective scrutiny or unsympathetic literal interpretation. Thus critically appraised, some of Luther's hymns, such as "Oh Haupt voll Blut und Wunden," and some favorite gospel hymns of more recent time, such as "Jesus, Lover of My Soul," "Safe in the Arms of Jesus," "There Is a Fountain Filled With Blood," are equally objectionable when the difference of time of their composition is taken into account.[131]

An impartial judgment of Zinzendorf's hymns as a whole must concede that during the period of their greatest popularity they served well their purpose of quickening the spiritual perception and deepening the personal religious experience of those who constantly used them.

[128] "Jesus, geh Voran." [129] *Methodist Hymnal*, No. 148. [130] *Ibid.*, No. 359.

[131] Cf. discussion on Morbid Mysticism, Appendix I.

Our study at this point is concerned primarily with Zinzendorf's use of worship and song in religious teaching. With him, the memorization of Scripture texts, the daily use of hymns and litanies, together with the religious conversations conducted by age groups in bands, classes and choirs were preferred means of nurture and training, both in the adult congregation and in the religious education of children. Zinzendorf sought to achieve religious inspiration and motivation through emotional stimulation by means of worship and the frequent singing of selected hymn stanzas relating to the same subject or religious idea.[132] The separate hymns as a rule were long, some including as many as twenty or more stanzas. Instead of singing through such a long hymn it was customary to sing in succession selected, separate stanzas from many hymns, as the interspersed prayers, exhortations or religious conversations of the service might suggest. The author of *Historische Nachricht* says on this point: "According to our way of singing, the materials of instruction are both presented and reviewed through song. Hence we do not sing through entire hymns of ten to twenty verses, but rather separate stanzas or half stanzas from many hymns as the sequence of thought of the subject matter requires."[133] This method of instruction by means of hymns employed over a period of many years led Zinzendorf in 1759 to declare, "It is an established and well-known fact that our hymns provide the best method for inculcating divine truths and for conserving these in the heart."[134] This teaching use of hymns resulted in (1) the composite authorship of many of the newer hymns composed under the inspiration of these devotional teaching services of the congregation;[135] and (2) the preparation of special hymn-book

[132] *Sp. Z. L.*, I, p. 443.

[133] *Gregor: Hist. Nacht. G. B. G.*, p. 33. Cf. also *Sp. Z. L.*, I, p. 444.

[134] *J. H. D.*, Dec. 9, 1759.

[135] Cf. Hymnal analysis, *Hist. Nacht.* pp. 42–128. For example, hymn No. 1478 containing eleven verses, was the joint composition of David Nitschmann, verses 1 to 3, and 11; Zinzendorf, verses 8 and 9; Gregor, verses 5 and 10; Zinzendorf's sister Erdmuth Dorothea, verses 4, 6, and 7. Hymn 1443 having eight stanzas was composed by Anna Nitschmann, verses 1, 2, 4, and 5; Gregor, verse 3; Zinzendorf, verses 6 to 8.

editions in which the related verses from many hymns were grouped together under various teaching subjects.[136] Endless variety of arrangement of subject matter was thus achieved. This teaching use of hymn verses, moreover, was combined with the use of the Loosungen, or daily Scripture mottoes, with hymn responses, and of the church litanies, especially at the Sunday and festal services.

(42) *Kinder Lieder,* 1727.[137] Zinzendorf's first hymn book for children was printed in 1727. It was reprinted in 1754. In 1789 it was combined with a collection of Bible quotations entitled *Haupt inhalt der Lehre Jesu Christi,* originally prepared by Samuel Lieberkuehn, at the request of the Synod of 1769.[138] In its original form it consisted simply of hymn verses, old and new, from various editions of the hymnal grouped under topics of instruction such as were used, and are still used, as subject-titles for the main divisions of a hymnal. In the edition of 1789 each group of hymn verses was preceded by a sentence summary of the truth which the group of hymns was intended to emphasize. The introductory section relating to the Holy Scriptures has three sentence summaries with selected hymn verses under each. As in all of Zinzendorf's own materials of religious instruction, so in this brief introductory section he begins in the first summary paragraph with the teachings of Jesus. The second paragraph speaks of the books of the New Testament as written under the guidance of the Holy Spirit by the early apostles and followers of Jesus. The third paragraph speaks of the Old Testament as also inspired by the Spirit of God given for our instruction and containing the prophecies of the coming of Christ. Following this Introduction the Summaries of Bible Teaching which constitute the book proper with the illustrative

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[136] Cf. the hymn collections of this character including (1) the children's hymnal of 1727 and subsequent editions, 1728, 1754, 1789, and (2) Sarons Buechlein, 1742 and 1754, and Hirten Lieder von Bethlehem, 1754.

[137] *Einfaeltige, aber theure Wahreiten, in einer Sammlung der deutlichsten Verse aus Liedern, fuer Kinder,* 1727. The second revised edition appeared in 1728 as *Gesangbuch fuer Kinder.*

[138] *Cranz. Br. Hist.,* II, p. 10.

hymn verses are arranged under twenty headings.[139] The material itself, as in the case of the introductory section, is simple and in parts at least well adapted to the mental capacity and religious needs of older boys and girls. Thus, in Section XIV, "Concerning the Church," subsection 6 refers to "Jesus the Over-Shepherd and Keeper" of the congregations, and contains among others some hymn verses known and still sung by many German children even to-day. Part of this subsection follows:

6. Jesus Christ is the Chief Shepherd and the Overseer of the people.[140]

The Lord who with his hands orders all destiny, who is the

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[139] I. Regarding God, the Creator. II. The Image of God. III. Universal Sinful Corruption. IV. Jesus Christ, our Saviour. V. The Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit. VI. The Father of our Lord Jesus Christ. VII. Jesus Christ, the Son of God. VIII. The Holy Spirit. IX. The Will of God for our Salvation. X. The Faith in the Lord Jesus. XI. Baptism. XII. Holy Baptism. XIII. Holiness. XIV. The Church of Jesus Christ. XV. The Angels. XVI. The Death and Translation of the Faithful. XVII. The Reappearance of Jesus Christ and the Resurrection of the Dead. XVIII. The Universal Judgment. XIX. Eternal Life and Eternal Damnation. XX. The Commandments of God.

[140] The authors with dates of their decease indicated in parenthesis are from Gregor's analysis of 1778—*Hist. Nacht.* pp. 43–128. Of those here given, J. C. Lange, Louisa v. Hayn, Anna Nitschmann and Christian Gregor were associated with Zinzendorf in his work with children. Hist. Nacht., p. 198ff.

Jesus Christus ist der Erzhirte und Bischof (Aufseher) der Gemeinen.

Der Herr, der aller Enden regiert mit seinen Haenden, der Brunn der ew'gen Gueter, der ist mein Hirt und Hueter.

So lang ich diesen habe, fehlt mir's an keiner Gabe; der Reichthum seiner Fuelle gibt mir die Fuell und Huelle. 894, 1. 2. (P. Gerhard, d. 1676.)

. . . . . .

Du bist mein treuer Seelenhirt, und selber auch die Weide, du hast mich, da ich war verirrt, geholt mit groszer Freude. Ach nimm dein Schaeflein nun in Acht, damit es weder List noch Macht von deiner Heerde trenne. 286. 6. (J. C. Lange, d. 1756.)

Weil ich Jesu Schaeflein bin, freu ich mich nur immerhin ueber meinen guten Hirten, der mich schoen weisz zu bewirthen, der mich liebet, der mich kennt, und bey meinem Namen nennt.

Unter seinem sanften Stab geh ich aus und ein, und hab' unausprechlich suesze Weide, dasz ich keinen Hunger leide; und so oft ich durstig bin, fuehrt Er mich zum Brunnquell hin.

Sollt' ich dann nicht froehlich seyn, ich begluecktes Schaefelein? denn nach diesen frohen Tagen werd' ich endlich heimgetragen in des Hirten Arm und Schoosz; Amen, ja, mein Glueck ist grosz. 1179, 1–3. (Louisa v. Hayn, d. 1782.)

Fountain Head of eternal good, he is my Shepherd and Guardian.

So long as I have him, I shall want nothing; the abundance of his possessions enriches and protects me.

. . . . . .

Thou art my soul's faithful Shepherd, and also the pasture; thou hast, when I have gone astray, retrieved me with rejoicing. O watch over thy lamb, so that no deceit or power may turn it from thy flock.

Since I am Jesus' lamb, I am joyful every moment, because of my good Shepherd, who knows so well how to protect me, who knows me, loves me, and calls me by my name.

Under the loving guidance of his staff, I go everywhere and enjoy inexpressibly sweet pasture, so that I suffer no hunger; and whenever I am thirsty, he leads me to the bubbling spring.

Should not I be joyful, I the fortunate lamb, for after these happy days I shall be carried home underneath the Shepherd's arm. Amen, yes I am indeed fortunate.

In Section XV, "Concerning Angels," subsection 3 well illustrates both the adaptation of the material and the wide range of selection of hymn verses.

3. They serve particularly with the children of God, also with little children.

. . . . . .

The hosts of heavenly angels who always watch over the baptism of little children, and always see the light in the Father's face, let us revere and emulate them.

Come, Heavenly Master, visit the children's choir. The Holy Spirits that watch at their door will heartily rejoice when thou leadest them to thy temple.

Let us all taste thy reconciliation most blessedly and let the watchers from on high serve us with gladness.

Let the heavenly angels be watchers over all of us, great and small; to serve and nourish us at all times, and guide us now.

Command thy angel that he shall come and watch over us, thy possessions; grant us the beloved guardian so that we may rest in the presence of Satan.

Send unto me thy angel, who can turn from me the power,

deceit, and attacks of the evil enemy, and who keeps me in safety and finally carries me to my heavenly rest.[141]

Three more hymnals[142] were printed between 1742 and 1754, the last, *Sarons Buechlein,* containing selected verses from different hymns were arranged under topics of religious instruction, as in the case of the children's hymnals.

Litanies, Loosungen, Odes. The litanies of the Brethren are taken from hymnals in which they first appeared as numbered hymns.[143] Later these were collected and arranged with other related hymns and separately published.

(46) *Litaneyen Buechlein,* 1754, Barby.[144] The first of such publications was this *Litaneyen Buechlein* of 1754. Subsequent editions with slight variations in the title designation appeared at intervals from 1757 to 1816.

All the editions contained separate liturgical hymns and litanies for various choir groups, including those for children.[145] In the second supplement to the first collection the choir litanies

[141] Sie dienen insonderheit bey Kindern Gottes, auch bey kleinen Kindern.

. . . . . .

Das Heer der Heil'gen Engel, das immerdar den Sprengel der Kinderlein bewacht, und immer sieht im Lichte des Vaters Angesichte, das nehm' uns alle gut in Acht. 1474, 4. (Zinzendorf, d. 1760.)

Komm, heil'ger Meister, besuch das Kinderchor; die heil'gen Geister, die Wacht an ihrem Thor, die werden sich gar herzlich freuen, wenn du sie dir willst zum Tempel weihen. 1221, 1. (Anna Nitschmann, d. 1760.)

Lasz uns all' aufs seligste schmecken dein Versuehnen; und die Waechter aus der Hoeh' uns mit Freuden dienen. 1478, 10. (Gregor, d. 1801.)

Lasz um uns alle grosz und klein, die heil'gen Engel Waechter seyn; pfleg und naehr uns zu aller Zeit, und gib uns ein maechtig Geleit durch diese Zeit. 274, 8. (Zinzendorf, d. 1760.)

Befiehl dein'm Engel, dasz er komm, und uns bewach dein Eigenthum; gib uns die lieben Waechter zu, dasz wir vor'm Satan haben Ruh'. 1572, 4. (Alber, d. 1553.)

Deinen Engel zu mir sende, der des boesen Feindes Macht, list und Anschlaeg' von mir wende, und mich halt' in guter Acht; der auch enlich mich zur Ruh' trage nach dem Himmel zu. 1506, 5. (Albert, d. 1668.)

[142] (43) 1742, *Hirtenlieder von Bethlehem,* London. Revised and republished in 1754. (44) 1753, *Alter und Neuer Brueder-Gesang,* London. Reprinted in 1754. (45) Sarons Buechlein.

[143] E.g., Nos. 1882, 1895, 1949 and many others.

[144] *Liturgien und Litaneyen zum Gebrauch der Bruedergemeinen, und ihrer Chœre.*

[145] Cf. *Chor-Lieder, Litaneyen Buechlein,* 1757, pp. 190–224 and 288–301.

are expanded and printed separately, together with morning and evening prayers.[146] In a later edition, 1773, the introduction is addressed to the children themselves in the true spirit of Zinzendorf, though not specifically credited to him. It reads in part:

Dear Children!

We deliver to you here Litanies assembled for your use. The Saviour, who shall bring forth praise for himself from the speechless and who is the best friend of children, will gladly receive your prayers, your tears, and the offering of praise which together you bring to him. May he give you the grace to benefit, even in the years of your childhood, by what he has earned for you by his holy childhood, his life, his suffering and death. May he guard you, to the glory of his holy name, as his eternal inheritance. And may you never forget how much it cost him that you might be saved, that you might in good time become seed which should serve him, and proclaim the Lord to men from generation to generation. The blessing of our Lord Jesus Christ, the love of God and the fellowship of the Holy Spirit be with you and all of us. Amen.[147]

The spirit and form of the litanies for children may be illustrated by the following extracts taken from this edition:

LITANY FOR CHILDREN

Con. Make us appreciate our life.
Lit. Thy Holy childhood.
Con. Help us to children's joys.
Mel. Lord God, we all worship thee.

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[146] *Zweyter Anhang zum Litaneyen Buechlein*, 1758, pp. 1–110.

[147] Wir uebergeben euch heir die zu euren Gebrauche verfertigte Litaneyen. Der Heiland, der sich aus dem Munde Seiner Unmeundigen ein Lob bereiten will und der beste Kinderfreund ist, wird sich euer Gebet und Thraenen und das Lobopfer, das ihr Ihm gemein-schaftlich bringet, wohlgefallen lassen. Er schenke auch die Gnade, schon in euren Kinderjahren zu geniessen, was Er euch durch das Verdienst Seiner heiligen Kindheit, Lebens, Leidens und Todes erworben hat. Er bewahre euch, zu Lobe Seines herrlichen Namens, als Sein Eigenthum ewiglich und lasse es euch nie aus dem Sinne kommen, wie viel es Ihn gekostet, dasz ihr erloeset seyd, damit ihr auch in der kuenftigen Zeit ein Saame seyn moeget, der Ihm dienet, und man vom Herrn verkuendige von Kind zu Kindeskind. Die Gnade unsers Herrn Jesu Christi, die Liebe Gottes und die Gemeinschaft des heiligen Geistes sey mit euch und uns allen, Amen.

Girls. Let us grow and mature in thee
Weep for thee and again please thee.

Boys. Learn from thee, become proficient for thee.

Both. Receive salvation and blessing.

Girls. Always to understand thee.

Boys. To go forward in the knowledge of thee,

Both. To learn all that belongs to,
Graces and honors thy teaching.

Lit. Thy obedient servants,

Con. Make us obedient children
To the joy of our parents,
People in the years of grace,
And all companies of pilgrims
And to those to whom we have been a burden.

All. Holy God of Hosts,
Holy God of Strength,
Holy Merciful Redeemer,
Thou Eternal God,
Christ Thou Lamb of God,
Hear the petition from our distress

Mel. The Soul of Christ make me holy.

Con. Oh, let us poor children
Never be rebellious against thee,
Nor against thy red wounds.
Merit and torture, blood and death.

Take our hearts and lives and souls
Under thy protection day and night,
From all that is unpleasant and
Sinful to thee, Lord Jesus Christ.

I

Lit. As the children of flesh and blood
So he became.
And, during the days of his incarnation
Offered prayer and petition with a loud voice
And tears, and was exalted.
So was Jesus, through the sufferings of death crowned with praise and glory, who became for a little time lower than the

angels in that he, by the grace of God, tasted death for all of us.
And since his ascension he has become a means of Eternal salvation to all who are obedient to him.

Mel. Christ, who art the bright day,

Con. O bless us poor children
With the reward of thy life

Boys. Of salvation through thy death and suffering,
Yes, a generous share.

2

Girls. By thy human birth on earth
Make life worthwhile and happy for us.

Boys. Through thy first shed blood
Consecrate our mortal bodies
As thy own.

3

Girls. The grace of thy childhood
Help us to eternal children's joys.

Boys. Yes, grant that each year of thine
May manifest to us thy grace.

4

Girls. To grow toward thee in spirit and grace
And age, help us on our way.

Boys. To learn from thee and thy Work
Make us teachable and diligent
To thy praise.

5

Girls. Thy poverty, misery and weakness
Sweeten and refine us.

Boys. Thy loyal obedient heart
Vouchsafe to us, an ever-obedient heart.

6

Both. O that everyone in the world were minded as thou wert and nothing but the beauty of the sprinkling of thy blood be manifest in us.

Lit. Yes, fashion each to thy pride and glory
So that the congregation
May rejoice in their labors with thee.

Mel. Lord Jesus Christ, light of my life.[148]

(47) *Loosungen und Textbuchlein,* 1762. The daily Scrip-

[148] GEM. Mach uns unsre Menschheit lieb!
LIT. Deine heilige Kindheit
GEM. Helfe uns zur Kinderfreude!
MEL. Herr Gott Dich loben alle wir.
MAREDL. Lass uns Dein Wachsen und Gedeihn,
Dein Wienen, und Dich wieder freun,
KNAEBL. Dein Lernen und Dein Fleiszigsein,
BEIDE. Zum heil und Segen angedeihn;
MAEGDL. Dich immer sel'ger zu verstehn,
KNAEBL. In Dein'r Erkenntnisz fortzugehn,
BEIDE. Zu lernen all's, was sich gehoert,
Und Deine Lehre ziert und ehrt.
LIT. Dein Gehorsam-und Unterthansein,
GEM. Mach uns zu gehorsamen Kindern!
Zur Freude unsrer Eltern,
Des Volks in Gnadenzeltern,
Und aller Pilgerhorden,
Und wem wir sauer worden.
ALLE. Heiliger Herre Gott!
Heiliger starker Gott!
Heiliger barmherziger Heiland!
Du ewiger Gott!
Christe, Du Lamm Gottes;
Hoer die Bitt' von unsrer Noth!
MEL. Die Seele Christi heilge mich.
GEM. Ach lasz uns arme Kinderlein
Nie gegen Dich gleichgueltig seyn,
Noch gegen Deine Wunden roth,
Verdienst und Marter, Blut u. Tod!
GEM. Nimm unser Herz bey Tag. u Nacht,
Und Leib und Seele wohl in acht,
Vor all'm, was Dir, Herr Jesu Christ,
Miszfaellig, und uns schaedlich ist:

I.

LIT. Wie die Kinder Fleisch u Blut haben, ist Er's
Gleichermaszen theilhaftig worden;
Und hat in den Tagen Seines Fleisches Gebet und
Flehen mit starken Geschrey und Thraenen geopfert, und ist erhoeret worden.
Das ist Jesus, durchs Leiden des Todes gekroenet mit Preis und Ehre, welcher eine kleine Zeit niedriger worden ist als die Engel, auf dasz
Er von Gottes Gnaden fuer alle den Tod schmeckete:
Und da Er ist vollendet, ist Er worden allen, die Ihm gehorsam sind, eine Ursach zur ewigen Seligkeit.
MEL. Christ der Du bist der helle Tag.
GEM. Ach segn' uns arme Kinderlein
Mit dem Verdienst des Lebens Dein,
Und gib uns gleicherweise Theil
KNAEBL. An Deines Tods und Leidens Heil;
Ja vollen Theil!

ture and hymn mottoes first begun in 1728[149] were made available in printed booklet form from 1731 forward.[150] In 1762 all the lists prepared by Zinzendorf during thirty-one years, 1731–1761,[151] were reprinted complete in four volumes under the title (43) *Sammlung der Loosungs.*[152] The first volume contains an introduction together with an index of titles and contents to the fifty-five separate collections with fragments of an earlier 1729 collection.

2.

MAEGDL. Dein' menschliche Geburt auf Erd
Mach' uns das Menschseyn lieb u werth;
KNAEBL. Durchs erste Blutvergiessen Dein
Weih unser sterbendes Gebein
Als Deines ein!

3.

MAEGDL. Die Gnade Deiner Kinderzeit
Helf uns zur sel'gen Kinderfreud;
KNAEBL. Ja gib, dasz jedes Deiner Jahr'
Sich Salbungsvoll an unsrer Schaar,
Veroffenbar'!

4.

MAEDGL. Dein Zunehmen an Geist und Gnad
Und Alter, foerdre unsern Pfad;
KNAEBL. Dein Lernen u Dein Arbeitsschweisz
Mach uns gelehrig und voll Fleisz,
Zu Deinem Preis!

5.

MAEGDL. Dein Arm-Gering-und Schwaechlichseyn
Versuesze uns das unsre fein;
KNAEBL. Dein unterthan, Gehorsam Herz,
Verleih auch uns, ein allerwerts
Gehorsam Herz!

6.

BEIDE. O waer' doch jedes so gestellt,
Wie Du gesinnt warst auf der Welt;
Und waer doch lauter wahre Schoen'
Aus Deinen Blutbesprengungen,
An uns zu Sehn!
LIT. Ja mache sie Dir zur Ehre und Zier
So, dasz die Gemein
Mit Dir sich koenn' ihres Gedeihens erfreun!
MEL. Herr Jesu Christ, mein's Lebens Licht.

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[149] *Sp. Z. L.*, I, p. 474. [150] *Ibid.*, I, p. 544.

[151] The 1761 Booklet was prepared by Zinzendorf shortly before his death in 1760.

[152] *Sammlung der Loosungs und Text-Buechlein der Brueder Gemeinde*, von 1731 bis 1761. Barby, 1762.

From the date of its organization, Zinzendorf conducted daily song services for the congregation at Herrnhut.[153] The texts, taken first as subjects for extemporaneous exhortations at these meetings, came in time to be used as daily mottoes for the whole community. In 1728 Zinzendorf selected from all parts of the Bible a list of three hundred and sixty-five texts, from which one was chosen by lot as the motto for the day, the same verse serving as text for the short talk to the people at the evening service. The use of the Lot (Loos) to determine the daily Scripture motto gave to these texts the name *"Loosung"* (the result determined by lot). This method of selection was continued until 1740, although the range of selection as a rule was restricted to texts from a certain part or book of the Bible. The selection and arrangement of these mottoes constituted an important educational task,[154] to which Zinzendorf gave constant personal attention.

During the period 1754–1760 the collection of *Loosungen* for each year included separate lists for (1) the general use of the congregation, (2) the choir of young women and (3) children—the *Kinder-Loosungen.*

Kinder-Loosungen were prepared by Zinzendorf for each year from 1754 to 1761. The first volume termed *"Kinder-Buechlein,"* 1754, comprised not Scripture verses but selected hymn phrases, sentences and verses from the children's hymns, taken mostly from the new collection (43) *Hirten Lieder von Bethlehem.* In addition to the general *Kinder-Loosungen* for 1757, Zinzendorf prepared a special list for the boys in training "in the German, English, and American institutions." This special consideration of the boys was intended to bring a special blessing and revival among them.[155] Zinzendorf explains that three fourths of the verses may be used with profit also by the girls. As specially suited for boys he designates the verses referring to battle, manual labor in the fields and vineyards, govern-

[153] *Sp. Z. L.*, I, p. 443.

[154] *Sp. Z. L.*, pp. 443, 474, 545, 597, 782, 922, 1028, 1763, etc. Cf. also *Samm. Loos. Txt. Bch.*, Introduction, Vol. I.

[155] Zinzendorf's introduction, *Loosungen*, Tom. IV, p. 375.

ment, evangelism, and other forms of service. For 1758 Zinzendorf prepared the first *Kinder-Loosungen* with a Bible verse and a hymn response for each day of the year and he retained this form for the years 1759 and 1760. The Bible references for 1758 are from the gospel account of the life of Jesus. In the introduction, after explaining to the children where their motto verses come from, Zinzendorf says:

> Here are your texts for the coming year. With each one is printed the place in the Bible from which it is taken, and each one is strengthened by one of your short sentence prayers. Now, my dear children, here it is. Use this little booklet to your blessing and be happy that you have here the things which Jesus said in his very own words. He is your Lord and you are to worship him. The beauty of your lives will make him glad, a beauty which comes through his suffering. "Rejoice in the Lord always: again I will say, Rejoice. Let your forbearance be known unto all men. The Lord is at hand" (Phil. 4. 4, 5).

For 1759 the texts are principally from John, and those for 1760 from Psalms. Concerning the latter Zinzendorf says in the Introduction:

> Dear children, you have during the past year had a little textbook from the New Testament. Now you shall have one from the books of the Old Testament which Jesus recommended highly to his disciples (Luke 24. 44). When the Psalms shall have given out all their music you shall also have a booklet from the Law and the Prophets. Be attentive to this collection and be sure to look up the hymn references.

In the actual selection of Scripture verses for children, Zinzendorf was neither more nor less expert than many teachers and church committees since his time. His texts for children compare favorably, for example, with the Golden Texts of the once popular International Uniform Sunday School Lessons.

A collection of *Children's Odes,* composed by Zinzendorf for the special services of the children's choirs, was published with the *Kinder-Loosungen* for 1758,[156] and later reprinted as an Appendix to one edition of the *Kinder Reden.* The character of these odes and the measure of their suitability for children is

[156] *Kinder Oden.*

uneven. The best, however, like the best of Zinzendorf's children's sermons, display noteworthy adaptation of thought and language to the age and experience of the child. An illustration is given in the Fifth Ode for the Christmas festival of the children, December, 1755.[157]

In religious teaching, therefore, Zinzendorf made large use of worship and of instruction through song.

This was his practice in the religious instruction of children, for whom he selected, arranged, and composed special hymns and litanies and compiled annual and special lists of daily Scripture texts.

For purposes of the religious instruction of children he used carefully selected hymn verses to supplement and to interpret didactic statements of religious truth.

As in the case of his catechisms and his sermons and addresses to children, his hymns and litanies for children are Christ-centered and experience-centered.

This is true also of the subject matter of instruction wherever didactic, theological, or biblical materials are combined with selected hymn verses for purposes of teaching children about the life and redemptive ministry of Jesus, about the Bible and its

157 *Fuenfte Ode*
An die Knaeblein im Catherinen-Hofe
am 24 Dec., 1755

Die importante stunde liegt unserm heil zum grunde, und faenget unsre Soehn an. Wenn nur die Welt bestehn kan!

Wer fuehrt derweil das Ruder, du unser kleiner Bruder, dasz du so da als Kindlein gewikkelt liegst in windelein?

. . . . . .

Nun noch zu einem male willkomm'n in unserm saale, als ob wir dich saehn liegen, gewindelt in der wiegen.

Sehn deine knecht und dirnen den kummer auf den stirnen, und im gesicht die miene der saur gewordnen Suehne:

So wollen wir unmeundgen den Tod zwar auch verkuendgen, doch den anmuthgen Knaben noch als ein voraus haben.

Sein trostmuethiges laecheln soll uns in kleinen saecheln zu grossem trost gedeihen bewahrn vor krikkeleyen.

Wenn eins am leibe leidet, wirds herz damit geweidet: Das unsuendige Soehngen war auch ein schwach Persoengen.

Und damit vollen wir schleissen: Sein erstes blutvergiessen wird bald ain neues brennen im herzen machen koennen.

essential teachings, and about the Christian Church as the organized fellowship of those who love and serve Christ.

V. Miscellaneous Educational Writings

Of the miscellaneous educational writings of Zinzendorf, two have been preserved in book form. The others, mostly shorter documents, appear either in collections of Zinzendorfiana or in the unprinted manuscript diaries, synodical records, correspondence, notes, and miscellaneous sources.

(48) *Chronico der Kirchen-Tage,* 1757, Barby, is a digest of secular and church history in brief summary sentences and paragraphs, arranged chronologically by years from the time of Christ to the year 329. The selection of historical incidents included in the record reveals a creditable command of historical information relating to the brief period covered by this fragment.

(49) *Sonderbare Gesprache,* 1735, Zuellichau, contains discussion of questions of Christian belief and conduct. It is here listed because it contains Zinzendorf's brief essay on the Christian upbringing of children, to which special attention is given in another part of this study.[158]

Zinzendorfiana. The important printed collections of Zinzendorfiana all contain, among other materials, scattered notes and documents bearing on the religious educational theory and practice of Zinzendorf. Insofar as these notes and shorter documents are essential to this study, they have been separately referred to in the body and footnotes of the text. The list here given, Nos. 50-56 inclusive, includes only the titles of the printed collections.

(50) *Buedingische Sammlungen,* 1744, has fifteen parts bound in six volumes, containing between fifteen and sixteen hundred separate documents by or about Zinzendorf or otherwise directly related to his work in and for the Moravian congregations.

(51) *Barbysche Sammlungen,* 1760, contains a collection of

[158] *Kurzer aufsatz von Christlicher Eziehung der Kinder. Sonderbare Gespraeche* pp. 128–136.

brief extracts from Synodical records covering the years 1726 to 1753.

(52) *Freywillige Nachlese,* 1735, contains chiefly collections of monthly papers by Zinzendorf from the years prior to 1735.

(53) *Naturelle Reflexiones,*[159] 1749, is a collection of Zinzendorf's essays and comments on religious and theological questions.

(54) *Theologische Bedenken*[160] is a collection of documents similar to *Buedingische Sammlung* and *Freywillige Nachlese,* and in part duplicating these.

(55) *Apologetische Schlusz-Schrifft,* 1752, is an important controversial writing by Spangenberg, cast in question and answer form and giving the answers of Zinzendorf and the Moravian congregations to specific questions relating to their faith and practice.

(56) *Darlegung richtiger Antworten,* 1751, is similar to *Apologetische Schlusz-Schrifft,* containing approximately three hundred questions and answers regarding the life and teachings of Zinzendorf and the Moravian congregation.

(57) *Zinzendorf und Luther,* 1752,[161] gives a comparison between the doctrines and practices of Zinzendorf and Luther in the form of parallel quotations from each arranged topically.

(58) *Die Paedogogischen Gedanken Zinzendorfs.* Among the manuscript sources which the writer has consulted one belongs properly in the category of Zinzendorfiana. This is Uttendoerfer's collection of educational quotations from Zinzendorf, *Die Paedogogischen Gedanken Zinzendorfs.* These selected quotations, numbering approximately seven hundred, are arranged according to a topical outline under different subject headings, such as the following: Marriage, Home Training, Baptism, Children of the Congregation, Preservation, Free Development

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[159] *Ludwig von Zinzendorf Peri Eauton;* Das ist: *Naturelle Reflexiones ueber allerhand Materien.*

[160] *Theologische und dahin einschlagende Bedencken.* 1742.

[161] Compiled by Willhelm Friedrich Jung, under the title *Der im dem Grafen von Zinzendorf noch Lebende und Lehrende wie auch Leidende und Siegende Doctor Luther.* (P. 382) Frankfurt und Leipzig, 1752.

and Its Dangers, Habits, Zinzendorf's Attitude Toward Formal Instruction, The Problem of Religious Instruction, Subject Matter of Religious Education, Institutionalized Religious Education, Nurture and Training in the Family, Parents and Their Duties, Teachers, Kinder-Vaeter, Choirs, Little Children and Their Training, The Saviour as the Ideal in the Training of Children, Conversion, Confirmation, Boys, Girls, Older Boys, Older Girls, Sex Instruction, Vocational Guidance.

The references to archive manuscripts given in this list were at the writer's disposal in consulting and copying from original manuscripts at Herrnhut. The manuscript notes in this collection are all in the handwriting of Uttendoerfer.

CHAPTER III

CHILD NATURE AND NURTURE

NOWHERE in his published or unpublished works did Zinzendorf set forth systematically his views regarding child nature or the principles which should control the formal processes of nurture and training. His pedagogical principles and the accounts of his own experience and practice are widely scattered through a mass of printed and manuscript materials, including diary records, correspondence, and occasional papers; sermons and addresses delivered before church audiences, synods and conferences of religious workers and to various age groups of children and young people; together with catechisms, hymns, liturgical services, and textbooks of religious instruction. In the case of his pedagogical precepts, their immediate context sometimes obscures their meaning and the significance which they had for Zinzendorf himself. Their meaning and their importance appear when they are gathered together and arranged with regard to their reference to the succeeding stages of the unfolding life of the child. His practice, while not always consistent, was in the main in accord with his stated principles.

ZINZENDORF'S RELATION TO CHILDREN

One outstanding impression gained from a study of the life and works of Zinzendorf, including his printed and unprinted writings and the manuscript diaries of the pilgrim congregation[1] and of the congregation at Herrnhut,[2] is the impression that he understood and loved children, to whom he gave himself in almost daily fellowship as companion and teacher.

[1] An itinerant group of men and women of vision and purpose who accompanied Zinzendorf from place to place after his banishment from Saxony (1737) to the time of his death. It was this group of persons who, together with Zinzendorf, constituted the administrative body in general charge of the Moravian Church.

[2] *Herrnhut Diarium.*

This intimate association with children was characteristic of Zinzendorf's work in and for the Moravian congregation at Herrnhut. The first official report regarding the actual practice that obtained at Herrnhut was that of the Commission appointed by the government of Saxony in 1732 to inquire into alleged unorthodox teachings and practices said to obtain among the Moravians. In this report, which exonerated Zinzendorf and the Herrnhut congregation, mention is made of children's services addressed by Zinzendorf in accordance with his daily custom.[3] Fifteen years later, in 1747, looking back over more than twenty years of the development of the work at Herrnhut, Zinzendorf reminds the congregation that concern for the children had been central in his thought from the beginning. The example of the child Jesus became "the daily food in the children's classes and societies." Says Zinzendorf:

> I recall that the very first indications of grace among us, that which we desired to accomplish with our children, was inspired by the thought of the childhood of Jesus. It was his childhood that inspired the first children's hymn (1723)[4] and the other hymn, "Jesus, we have read that thou also once wast a child" (1727) . . . The example of his childhood thereafter became the daily food in the children's classes and societies.[5]

Thus from the beginning Zinzendorf's interest in and personal relationship to children had been characteristic of his work in the local congregation. References to his participation in children's services are frequent. For example: The diary of the pilgrim congregation (*Juenger-Haus Diarium,* abbreviation *J.H.D.*) for 1747, the first year of its record, contains references to such addresses by Zinzendorf on January 5, 11, 12; March 25; April 3, 23, 27, 30; May 7, 21, 28, 31; June 18, 24; August 8, 12, 17; September 24; November 14; December 24.

Even when away from Herrnhut and in foreign lands he did not give up the habit of conducting children's services and associating intimately with them. On December 28, 1747, the diary of the pilgrim congregation records

[3] *Cranz. Br. Hist.*, I, p. 195; *Beschreibung Herrnhuts*, p. 38f.
[4] *Einfaeltiges Kinder Liedgen*, Appendix II, p. 20.
[5] *Hom. Wdn. Lit.*, p. 389—August 18, 1747.

As on Innocents Day, Zinzendorf went to Lindheim to spend the day with the dear children, taking his own children with him.[6]

As often as possible, these days with the children were spent on some hillside meadow or in the shaded woodland. On July 9, 1755, Zinzendorf spent such a festal day with the boys and young men from Herrnhut and neighboring congregations. The report of this day, reproduced in full elsewhere, is from the diary of the pilgrim congregation.[7] After early morning devotions with the boys in their dormitory, Zinzendorf accompanied them on a morning walk, during which he discussed with them in an intimate, informal way their personal experiences and problems. Later between fifty and sixty of the boys and young men continued this discussion in Zinzendorf's study. Then followed a meeting of the choir (group organization) for young men, with the consecration and admission of twenty-eight boys from the next younger group. A choir love feast with an address by Zinzendorf and the partaking of the cup of covenanting by all present brought the festivities to a close.

During 1754 Zinzendorf spent considerable time in England. On April 2, in London,[8] he inaugurated the Sunday afternoon children's hour in Church Lane and inspected the new building devoted to the children, which institution, according to his own account, "radiated nothing but grace and blessedness."

On October 14, in London, the workers' conference, over which Zinzendorf presided,

> Considered earnestly the problems of child nurture and training, especially the training of children in the congregation.[9]

During this stay in England he prepared and issued the first of his booklets of daily Bible verses for children[10] and also a children's hymn book.[11]

While in Holland in 1759 the pilgrim Diary records many addresses to children: June 6 and 25 at Zeyst; July 7, 8, and 28 at Herrendyk; August 17 at Neuwied; September 27 at Zeyst; and

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[6] *J. H. D.*, December 28, 1747.
[7] *J. H. D.*, July 9, 1755. App. I, pp. 194–5.
[8] *J. H. D.*, April 2, 1754.
[9] *J. H. D.*, October 14, 1754.
[10] *Kinder-Buechlein.*
[11] *Gesangbuech. fuer Kinder.*

others. Following the mention of his address at Herrendyk on July 8, the record continues:

The boys had the additional pleasure of being invited by Zinzendorf to his room, where he spoke with each one of them individually.[12]

On December 24 of the same year at Herrnhut, Zinzendorf participated for the last time in the customary Christmas Eve vigils, himself opening the service by singing to the children. Then "after a pause, at his bidding, the children sang hymns. Then John Nitschmann sang the new Christmas hymn of the boys' choir, after which the children sang again. During the singing of further hymns lighted tapers were distributed among the children, the hymns dwelling on the theme "Jesus, the Light of the World." While the last hymns were being sung the girls marched out into the corridor of the building, arranging themselves in line for Zinzendorf to pass, while the boys left quietly by another door."[13]

In 1760, the year of Zinzendorf's death,[14] he continued in his services with and for the children at Herrnhut as diligently as his failing health permitted, addressing them as usual at the Sunday and week-day services on January 3 and 14, March 13, 14, and 30. On April 22 he conducted the children's liturgical service.[15] He died less than three weeks later, and at his funeral services children in large numbers took an important part.

Among the products of this association with children, extending as it did over more than thirty years, were Zinzendorf's writings for children,[16] talks to children,[17] and exhortations to adults about children.[18] To the preservation of these various writings of Zinzendorf and records about him we owe such knowledge as is now available concerning his theory and practice of religious education.

Chief among Zinzendorf's early writings was his first cate-

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[12] *J. H. D.*, August 8, 1759. [13] *J. H. D.*, December 24, 1759.

[14] Died May 9, 1760. [15] *J. H. D.*, April 22, 1760.

[16] *Lautere Milch; Enchiridion; Kinder Buechlein; Gesangbuch fuer Kinder.* Cf. *Chapter II.*

[17] *Kinder Reden.* [18] *Reden an das Ehe Chor.* Cf. *Haupt Schluessel.*

chism, *Lautere Milch,* already described in the preceding chapter. This was written for the children and published in Dresden while its author, only twenty-three years old, was still in the service of the government of Saxony. The importance of this little-known and neglected work has seemed to justify its fuller analysis and its publication in full in another part of this volume.[19] The English translation by the writer is used because of the difficulty and occasional ambiguity of the German original.

In this textbook for children, Zinzendorf breaks away from existing models—such as the *Kinder Fragen* of the ancient Bohemian Brethren, published in German in 1502 and in many subsequent editions,[20] the *Smaller Catechism of Luther,*[21] and Spener's expansion of Luther's *Enchiridion* with its many additional questions and ample Bible references.[22] Zinzendorf's *Lautere Milch* differs from the children's catechisms of his predecessors and from those of his contemporaries intended to serve the same general purpose in that all of these earlier and contemporary children's catechisms undertake to condense the system of theology into smaller compass and to clothe it in simple language for children. The whole system of doctrine is retained as comprehensible and essential for children.[23] Isaac Watts, who stands nearest to Zinzendorf, both in point of time and in the sincere effort he made to write acceptably for children, insists that "each catechism should contain, suited to different ages and capacities, an abstract of Christianity, or a view of our whole religion in miniature."[24] This rule is in accord with the general conception

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[19] Cf. 21f. and Appendix I. The reprint of the original is found in *Freywillige Nachlese, Xte Sammlung,* p. 1170f.

[20] *Mueller, Deutsche Katechismen,* in *Monumenta Germanae Paedagogica,* Vol. IV.

[21] *Luther, "Enchiridion"*—1529.

[22] *Einfaeltige Erklaerung der Christlichen Lehre*—Franckfurth, 1677.

[23] Cf. *"Kinder Fragen"* and catechisms of Luther, Spener, Watts and the early Wesleyans. For descriptions of additional children's catechisms and other textbooks of religious instruction belonging to the period between Luther and Zinzendorf see *Schuler, "Geschichte des Catechetischen Religions Unterricht unter den Protestanten von der Reformation bis auf die Berliner Preisausgabe vom Jahre 1762;* and *Von Zezschwitz, "System der Katechetik."*

[24] Introduction to *Catechisms for Children and Youth, Isaac Watts.* Cf. p. 29f.

of children as miniature adults, which still prevailed at the beginning of the eighteenth century. Zinzendorf breaks away from this conception and from the simplified doctrinal catechisms for children, offering instead a more childlike presentation of what he conceives to be the essence of religion. This for him consists in an understanding of the love of God revealed in Jesus, and in the case of the individual child, in love for, and simple-hearted obedience to the Saviour.

A careful reading of *Lautere Milch,* including the Introduction,[25] makes its clear that while Zinzendorf at twenty-three was still loyal to his inherited Lutheran doctrine of baptismal regeneration,[26] he had nevertheless already discovered that children are not adults in miniature, but children, to whom by right of the Saviour's own declaration "belongs the kingdom of heaven." The catechism reflects a faith in the goodness of God and in the worth and innocence of the little child that is sharply at variance with any literalistic interpretation of the orthodox Lutheran formula of salvation.[27] Zinzendorf expects theologians and schoolmen to criticize, and in the Introduction to the little text is careful to state that "no approbation on account of this catechism is desired. It is not intended for clever folks, but for the little ones, whose angels at all times behold the face of our Father in heaven."

Printed originally with this catechism were two simple prayers, one of which is in the form of a hymn for children,[28] also by Zinzendorf. The spirit and style may be judged from the following verses:

"I am a little child you see,
My strength is little too,
And yet I fain would happy[29] be;
Lord, teach me what to do.

"My dearest Saviour, tell me how
My thankfulness to show

[25] Cf. analysis in *Chapter Two* and full text in Appendix I.
[26] *Lautere Milch,* questions 58 to 61. [27] Cf. discussion, pp. 21ff.
[28] *Einfaeltiges Kinder Liedgen* (Children's Hymnal) —Appendix I, p. 199.
[29] German "selig" better translated "blessed."

For all thy love, before and now,
Else I shall never know.

"If thou would'st have me longer stay,
In years and stature grow,
Help me to serve thee night and day,
While I am here below."

The verses of this hymn reveal the manner in which young Zinzendorf was able to put himself in the place of a little child and give expression to natural childlike aspiration. The translation is from the second edition of the English Moravian hymnal of 1743.[30] In the complete hymn, as in the catechism already considered, Zinzendorf refers to baptism as an act of consecration,[31] not of cleansing. How far Zinzendorf advanced beyond the conception of the objective efficacy of baptism as a means of inner cleansing will appear in the subsequent discussion.

When mention is made of Zinzendorf's talks to children, the reference is ordinarily to a published volume of *Kinder Reden,* in which are printed eighty-five selected sermons and talks which he delivered at gatherings of children and young people in different congregations between May 23, 1755, and Christmas, 1757.[32] In some editions of these addresses there is published also a supplementary address delivered at Herrnhut, May 12, 1758, entitled "Unser Original," in which Jesus is set forth as the example for young and old, together with a collection of *Kinder Oden,* short epic poems taken from Zinzendorf's books of daily mottoes and memory selections for children.[33] These were published during the same years from which the selection of sermons

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[30] *A Collection of Hymns, with several Translations From the Hymn-Book of the Moravian Brethren.* The Second Edition. London: Printed for James Hutton, at the Bible and Sur, Little-Wild-Street, near Lincoln's-Inn-Fields, 1743.

[31] Cf. stanza 6:

"Du hast mich in der Taufe ja
Zum Kinde eingeweiht."

[32] Kinder-Reden issued under the title *Sammlung Einiger von dem Ordinario Fratrum waehrend seines Aufenthalts in den Teutschen Gemeinen von Anno 1755 bis 1757 gehaltenen Kinder-Reden.* Barby, 1758. For further analysis, cf. p. 61ff.

[33] *Kinder Loosungen.*

and addresses is made, and were continued in annual installments until 1760.

Zinzendorf's habit of speaking and preaching to children, however, extended over the entire period of his pastoral relationship to the Moravian churches from 1727 to 1760. Like his outbursts into verse, these addresses to children crowd the manuscript records of the pilgrim congregation, and are found scattered through other collections of Zinzendorf's printed and unprinted writings. The diary records for the period covered by those printed in the *Kinder Reden* (1755–1758) contain many other children's sermons and talks not included in the printed collection.[34]

To read only the *Kinder Reden* published under this title would be to overlook some of the best illustrations of Zinzendorf's well-adapted talks to various age groups, as, for example, those recorded on the following dates: May 9 and June 30, 1757; January 8 and February 3, 1758. Compare Chapter II.

In the unpublished address of June 30, 1757, Zinzendorf points out to adolescent girls what blessings will result if they permit the Saviour to take entire possession of their hearts. He is speaking from the hymn mottoes, "Make of us for thyself a secret garden" and "The inner man of gentle and modest spirit is precious in the sight of God," and says, in part,

Our mottoes for the day suggest a garden often visited by the Gardener himself, who naturally desires to partake of its fruits. . . .

[34] Among such unpublished addresses may be noted the following:

Zum (?) 18. Aug. 1755.

An die Knaeblein im Catharinen-Hofe, am 24. Dec., 1755

An die Maegdlein in Herrnhut, den 31. Dec., 1755

Bey dem ersten Liebes-mahl der combinirten Anstalt, in Friedburg, 8 Maj, 1756.

Auf der ganzen Maegdgen-Anstalt ehrwuerdige Pflegerin, Louise von Hayn, 22 Maj, 1756.

An die Maegdlein in Herrnhuth, am 25. Dec., 1756.

An die jungen Academisten zum Chorfest, am 6 Febr., 1757.

Beym ersten Maegdgen-Liebesmahl, den 26 April, 1757, nach ihrer fast allgemeinen krankheit.

An das Paedagogium am 6. Maj, 1757.

Auf die am 17 und 18 Aug., 1757. geschehene Einweyhung des neuen schlaftempels des Maegdgen-Stifts in Herrnhut, den 27. Aug.

In such a heart the Saviour has opportunity to grow many a precious and lovely plant, one blossoming virtue and manifestation of glory after another. This is true especially when from time to time you are advanced from one grade or class to the next, as is the case to-day when some of you have been advanced to the fourth grade. In time you will in the same way progress to the fifth and thereupon to the class for young women. By that time many a beautiful and fragrant flower will already have rejoiced the Gardener's heart.[35]

On January 6, 1751, he explains to boys and girls of junior age what it means for them to follow the example of Jesus in their daily tasks.

If a boy is diligent in learning to write or to do arithmetic, or to do well some useful form of work; if he does these things faithfully and obediently in order that he may learn well how to serve other people; . . . and if a girl does well and skillfully whatever work she has in hand, such as darning stockings or other forms of service that are useful in the household, that is following the example of the boy Jesus.[36]

The basis of selection of the eighty-five printed addresses seems to have been the degree to which the addresses emphasized the personal contemplation of Christ's redemptive suffering, the central theme in Zinzendorf's evangelistic message and theological teaching. This basis of selection made it inevitable that they should partake of the general character of Zinzendorf's theological homilies, including occasional lapses into extreme emotionalism and sentimentality. Aside from this, they are characterized by brevity (averaging less than twelve hundred words each) and by directness and simplicity of approach to the subject, as in the following opening sentences:

Jesus had a very dear friend, whose name was Simon and who loved him very much (Sept. 24, 1756).

My dear children, there are two ways in which we may be so near to the Saviour as though we really lived right with him (Sept. 5, 1756).

The words of our text were spoken by Jesus. Think a moment, where in the Bible. (Sept. 19, 1755).

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[35] *J. H. D.*, June 30, 1757. Not in Kinder Reden.

[36] *J. H. D.*, January 6, 1751 at Hennersdorf.

Our verse is part of the prayer which all of God's children pray. It is spoken to the heavenly Father (Dec. 3, 1755).

There are a number which more than others reveal Zinzendorf's ability to meet children on their own plane of thinking and experience.

Thus children are taught to pray:

Preserve us in the blessedness that is our own,
For the sake of the dear Christ's five wounds.

Keep near us heavenly guardians ever
That Satan's wiles may tempt us never.

Our souls and bodies keep through all
That from this grace we ne'er may fall.[37]

In the midst of their studies and instruction, children are reminded:

There is in your heart still another school in addition to the one which we conduct with you. . . . The Saviour, who is near to us grown folks and to you who are already able to use your understanding, and who is near to the little children who can play and sing just a little, he is also near to the tiny ones, even much nearer than one can express in words. . . .

This school I recommend to you. It must continue in you. The Saviour's presence which these little ones have had—who cannot yet either sit, or stand, or walk, who are still wrapped in babies' clothes—must remain and develop from year to year.[38]

12, 955

At the very beginning of Zinzendorf's work for the spiritual welfare of the refugee community at Herrnhut his efforts resulted in 1727 in an emotional revival which profoundly affected the children as well as the adults in the congregation.[39] In commenting on this children's revival, Spangenberg mentions that the training of children was a major consideration of Zinzendorf's from the very first. The day on which the revival "broke out," August 17, has ever since been observed as an special festal day for Moravian children.[40] In later years Zinzendorf himself looked back to this children's revival as the first clear evidence of divine approval and as the actual beginning of his lifelong work in their behalf.[41]

[37] *Kd. Red.*, March 12, 1755. [38] *Ibid.*, September 19, 1755.
[39] *Sp. Z. L.*, p. 427. [40] *Ibid.*, p. 428. [41] *Ibid.*, p. 429.

The Principle of Free Development

Central in Zinzendorf's understanding of child nature is his recognition of the principle of free development in the individual. It is this principle which demands free-time activities for children as well as for adults. In the case of adults such activities are "not only permitted, but actually enjoined," and this "for important and sacred and beneficial reasons."

> So likewise does one permit children to engage in all kinds of free play, not only gladly permitting them to play, but encouraging them in so doing.

From such procedure harm can result only when "play becomes to the child an occasion for willfulness and stubbornness," in which case it "ceases to be free play and great harm instead of good may result therefrom."[42]

Constant experience with children taught Zinzendorf that happiness is a natural characteristic of childhood.

> Childlikeness and happiness are much the same thing. . . . Children are naturally contented and happy, and if a child is to be unhappy or discontented, except in the case of sickness, which is an unnatural state for children, it is usually necessary first to provoke the child. . . .
>
> A child is always cheerful and carefree. A child finds the greatest happiness in simple things and is easily satisfied. When one observes to what children give attention of their own accord and with what they amuse themselves, we discover that they are things that are easily provided. Even a beggar child does not lack opportunity to find contentment and happiness in his own way.[43]

Free development makes for straightforwardness[44] and self-knowledge. It prevents children from becoming hypocrites and dissemblers.

> Restraint is possible for a time, after which children become awkward and a burden to folks until they have sense enough to disguise their evil ways, after which they become deceivers, which is a miserable and gruesome state.[45]

[42] From an address to the Choir of Married People, August 8, 1744. *Niesk. Archive* (*Hhn. Arhv.* Ri, 25).

[43] *Hom. Wdn. Lit.*, p. 391—August 18, 1747.

[44] "*Aufrichtigkeit*," *J. H. D.*, June 9, 1751. [45] *J. H. D.*, November 7, 1752.

In the education of children the observance of free play is fundamental. The only compulsion in education normally should be that which is exerted by the teacher's example.

The main principle in dealing with children demands a free, noble, and impressive manner, such as will awaken in the pupil ideas suggested at first by the manner and conduct of the teacher, but which later develop and become permanent by means of deliberate and unforced reflection.[46]

Rules are for the most part unnecessary.[47] Browbeaten, goody-goody children do not turn out well.[48] Especially should arbitrary and unreasoned punishment be avoided, as Zinzendorf points out to the Synod at Marienborn:

A child should never be punished without being first convinced of its wrongdoing; such punishment would have evil consequences. Children as well as adults have consciences.[49]

Regard for the principle of free development is especially important in moral and religious training, since religion is a matter which affects the individual life as a whole, not in separate compartments. Zinzendorf endeavored to make children understand that

Religion is the completely unified work of God in us. We think, speak, sing, and play, often feel very happy, and in all that we do, in our whole being, conduct and everything that we undertake, we give evidence of our faith and of what is in our hearts.[50]

The principle requires that in matters of faith and conduct the younger generation shall have some freedom of choice:

We do not presume to require of a son that he should follow the same maxims as his father. In conjunction with that training which duty requires of us, we allow the greatest possible freedom with the hearts of our children.[51]

Here also the daily conduct of parents is of the utmost

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[46] *Zuverlaessige Nachricht, By. Sam.*, p. 20.

[47] *Hhn. Arhv.* R2 A41, Id.—June 20, 1758.

[48] *J. H. D.*, December 10, 1753.

[49] *Hhn. Arhv.* Re A41, December 13, 1740.

[50] *Kd. Red.*, May 12, 1758.

[51] *Erwartete Erklaerung*, p. 39—1740. *Bd. Sam.*

importance. Not compulsion, but example and friendly sympathetic guidance are desirable:

There is no foundation in the Bible for the idea that parents should force their children to become children of God. Rather are they to discover the beauty of the Christian life in the example of their parents. If parents who are themselves fully consecrated to the Saviour succeed in holding the affection of their children, they have already won them.[52]

The underlying purpose of institutional life at Herrnhut is to make free religious development possible by removing the hindrances of an unfavorable environment.

The reason why we place the children in institutions is not that they shall by this means be converted, but, rather, that there may be place and room for the Saviour to approach the child's heart unhindered and to achieve his purpose in the individual life. . . . The principal value of these institutions is thus a certain sequestration from hindrances during the years of helplessness. When the time arrives that the child thinks logically and can himself resolve to belong or not to belong to Christ, then it is useless or harmful for adults to attempt to force the issue.[53]

The necessity of discipline and order limited somewhat the application of this principle to these institutions.[54] Where many persons live together, as in these institutions, there certain regulations are necessary.[55]

In his own household, however, and in the bringing up of his own children, Zinzendorf put the principle of free development constantly into practice. How successfully, he asks the brethren of the congregation to judge for themselves:

My own children I have permitted to grow up and to conduct themselves without restraint and without forbidding wrongdoing except insofar as this might be harmful to society. Thus it was possible for them to act naturally in my presence and to make of me a

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[52] Conference at Lindsey House, London, *Hhn. Arhv.* R2A35, Feb. 14, 1754.

[53] *J. H. D.*, August 3, 1753; see also *J. H. D.*, June 9, 1751.

[54] *J. H. D.*, November 14, 1754.

[55] Remarks to the Seminary students at Herrnhut. *Hhn. Arhv.* R20D31—July 25, 1747.

confidant. Whether this has succeeded, the Brethren may judge for themselves. Any other course is not permanently successful.[56]

The experience of the Herrnhut congregation with its children vindicates the same principle.[57]

Free development of the religious life, however, presupposes that Christ has taken possession of the heart and that the development from within is under the direction of the Holy Spirit:

> The Saviour has prescribed no fixed method in accordance with which we are to lead all souls. The Saviour has retained for himself the final direction and his servants must submit to the leading of his spirit. In this matter there are no fixed methods, only fundamental principles.[58]

Parents and teachers can assist the Holy Spirit by keeping the confidence of the children and thereby making it possible to guide them as confidants and counselors:

> The best one can do is to seek to become the children's best friend and confidant and to commend them to the Holy Spirit.[59]

Thus Zinzendorf clearly recognizes the importance of safeguarding the free development of personality in the individual child. By free development he does not mean license nor the elimination of social controls, but he warns against imposing restrictions or adult controls that will hamper and retard development from within. Spontaneous self-expression in free-time activities, including play, are essential to normal growth. Adult supervision of such activities should be indirect, consisting principally in setting right examples of conduct and retaining the confidence and respect of the children. This applies especially to the moral and religious development of the child. Here example is worth more than precept and divergence from parental example in details of thought and action is to be expected of children.

Free development in the religious life and experience of the child does not mean random growth. It means growth under the inner guidance of the Holy Spirit, who may be trusted to

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[56] *J. H. D.*, November 7, 1752. [57] *J. H. D.*, September 23, 1753.

[58] *Extract eines, Antwortschreiben*, 1734, *Theologische Bedenken*, p. 64.

[59] Conference at Lyndhouse, London, *Hhn. Arhv.* R2A35, Feb. 14, 1754.

bring each individual life to the realization of its highest possibilities. All human control and stimulation, such as is provided in religious and educational institutions of the community or congregation, are efforts to provide a favorable environment within which the work of the Holy Spirit in stimulating and guiding individual development will be less hampered and interfered with than in the ordinary uncontrolled environment of most children.

The Religious Status of the Child

Zinzendorf's recognition of the principle of free development and its implications for religious experience compelled him to redefine the religious status of the child with reference to the prevailing Lutheran dogmas regarding sin and salvation. In so doing he was never quite willing to admit—if, indeed, he himself fully recognized—the absolute contradiction between the orthodox theological formula of baptismal regeneration and belief in the absolute moral innocence of little children. While accepting and proclaiming the doctrine of the purity and innocence of childhood, he never frankly abandoned the contrary dogma. In seeking to defend and then explain away the doctrine of baptismal regeneration he introduced into his discussions of child nature and nurture an element of contradiction and confusion of statement from which he never completely extricated himself, as will be evident from the following discussion. Nevertheless, his oft stated theory and even more consistent practice of child nurture make very clear his inner personal conviction regarding the place and the rights of the child in the kingdom of heaven.

Repeatedly and with emphasis Zinzendorf declared his adherence to the doctrines of original sin (natural depravity) and of baptismal regeneration. These dogmas he accepted and defended as stated in the Augsburg Confession (1530) and in Luther's *Shorter Catechism* (1529). The statements of the Augsburg Confession bearing more particularly on this problem are those treating "Of Original Sin" (Art. II), "Of Jesus Christ and His Atonement" (Art. III), "Of Justification by Faith" (Art. IV), "Of the Sacraments," especially of Baptism (Art.

IX). As here quoted they are taken from the English translation in *Acta Fratrum Unitatis In Anglia* (MDCCXLIX),[60] where they appear as part of the officially approved doctrinal declaration of the Moravian congregations.

In the Augsburg Confession the Article "Of Original Sin" reads:

We teach, that, since the Fall of Adam, all mankind, naturally engendered from him, are conceived and born in sin.

That is, They, from the very Womb, are full of evil Lusts and Inclinations; and have by Nature no true Fear of God, nor true Faith in God:

Neither can have.

Also this innate Disease, or Original Sin, is truly sin;

And condemns under God's eternal Wrath all such, who are not born again thro' Water and the Holy Ghost.

Nature is not pious or good, neither can be made so by natural Strength; and the supposing thereof is a Reproach to the Sufferings and merit of Christ. (See Augsb. Conf. Art. II).[61]

The pertinent statements from Article III, "Of Jesus Christ and his Atonement," are those which refer to the efficacy of his atoning sacrifice:

Who was truly born, suffered, was crucified, dead and buried.

To the end that he might be a Sacrifice, not only for Original Sin, but for all other Sin, and appease God's Wrath. . . .

That he, through the Holy Ghost, may sanctify, purify, strengthen, and comfort all who believe on him.

In the original Confession three Articles, IV, VI, and XX, treat of "Faith and Good Works" and of the relation of these to each other. Article IV, "Of Justification by Faith," contains those creedal statements that directly concerned Zinzendorf's view of child nature:

We teach, that we cannot attain Forgiveness of Sins, and Righteousness before God, thro' our own Merit, Work, or Satisfaction:

[60] Contains the Parliamentary "Act for encouraging the People known by the Name of Unitas Fratrum, or United Brethren, to settle in His Majesty's Colonies in America," together with the "Report from the Committee to whom the Petition of the deputies of the Moravian Churches . . . with Extracts of the Most Material Vouchers and Papers contained in the Appendix to the said Report."

[61] *Acta Fratrum Unitatis in Anglia—Appendix*, p. 60–61.

But that we obtain Pardon of Sins, and are made righteousness before God, out of Grace, for Christ's sake.

Thro' Faith; even such whereby we believe, that Christ has suffered for us,

And that for his sake Sin is forgiven us, and Righteousness and eternal Life bestowed upon us.

For it is this Faith which God will account and impute for Righteousness before him, as Paul says, Rom. III and IV. (See Art. IV.)[62]

In Article IX, concerning Baptism, it is the efficacy of this sacrament as an instrument of Grace that called for special interpretation and adjustment to Zinzendorf's pedagogical theory.

Concerning Baptism, we teach, That it is necessary: and that, thro' it, Grace is tendered.

That also Children ought to be baptized; who, thro' such Baptism, are delivered up unto God, and become pleasing to him.[63]

This Article does not clearly state the doctrine of baptismal regeneration, although the reference in Article II, to being "born again thro' Water and the Holy Ghost," implies a generally accepted interpretation in harmony with the clearer statement of the same doctrine in the *Shorter Catechism.* In this symbolical treatise which Zinzendorf made the basis of his own second catechism[64] the entire section concerning baptism, comprising four questions with answers, reads:

Luther's Shorter Catechism[65]

Baptism is not alone simply Water, but Water bound up in the Commandment of God, and united with His Word.[66]

It worketh forgiveness of sins, delivers from death and the devil, and gives to all who believe eternal blessedness, as the word of Divine promise assures.[67]

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[62] *Acta Fratrum Unitatis in Anglia—Appendix*, p. 61.

[63] *Acta Fratrum Unitatis in Anglia—Appendix*, p. 65.

[64] *Gewisser Grund Christlicher Lehre.* [65] Headings and questions are here omitted.

[66] "The Word of our Lord Jesus at the close of Matthew: 'Go ye into all the World and teach all Nations, baptizing them in the Name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit.' " *Matt.* 28. 19.

[67] "The words which, according to the last verses of Mark, our Lord Jesus speaks: 'He that believeth and is baptized shall be saved; but he that disbelieveth shall be condemned.' " *Mark* 16. 16.

Water, of course, does not do it, but the Word of God which accompanies the water, and the Faith which trusts such Word of God. For without the Word of God, water is simply Water and not Baptism; but with the Word of God it constitutes Baptism, that is Water of Grace and of Life, and a Bath of the new Birth in the Holy Spirit, as Paul says to Titus.[68]

It signifies that the old Adam in us shall be submerged, by daily penance and sorrow, and shall die with all sins and evil desires; and that there shall reappear and be brought to life again, daily, a new Creature, who shall live for God in Righteousness and Purity forever.

It was to these creedal statements concerning original sin and baptismal regeneration that Zinzendorf found it necessary to adjust his pedagogical theory of free development with its implications of religious growth and of the purity and innocence of the little child.

The possibility of such adjustment Zinzendorf finds in the all-sufficiency of Christ's redeeming sacrifice by which he made atonement for all sin, including both individual, overt transgression and the guilt which attaches to inherited or original sin. By his blood shed on the cross Christ has washed away the guilt of all mankind, without, however, removing the inherited incapacity to do good or the natural tendency toward wrong. Each individual, moreover, through faith and baptism must personally appropriate that which Christ through his sacrifice has achieved. Baptism is the holy means, the sacramental instrument, by which the individual life is made susceptible to redeeming grace and through which, in conjunction with the personal faith of the individual, that grace is actually imparted.

For Zinzendorf's interpretation of these points we turn to those statements which he himself intended as an authoritative and more or less systematic setting forth of his theological positions. We omit as not pertinent to our present inquiry, and because they have been discussed elsewhere in this study, those vagaries of mystical interpretation and extreme symbolism of

[68] "Not by works done in righteousness, which we did ourselves, but according to his mercy he saved us, through the washing of regeneration and renewing of the Holy Spirit." *Titus* 3. 5.

language which characterize many of Zinzendorf's popular religious discourses but which belong to the accidents of his own social and religious inheritance.

Zinzendorf's doctrinal writings include his catechisms,[69] certain formal declarations of faith prepared for special occasions,[70] recorded answers to categorical questions concerning his doctrinal position[71] and those of his published sermons and addresses intended as an exposition of the faith and practice of the Moravian Church, including his lectures on the Augsburg Confession delivered to theological students at Herrnhut.[72]

In all of these theological treatises Zinzendorf subscribes to the doctrines of original sin and baptismal regeneration as set forth in the *Shorter Catechism* and the Augsburg Confession. This he does either by formal declaration of adherence, by direct quotations, or by paraphrased restatements with many incidental allusions. Nowhere in these writings does he deliberately contradict or frankly disavow the orthodox Lutheran position regarding either doctrine. But he does frequently contradict them in fact either by his way of interpreting them and explaining them away, or by the emphatic announcement of views of the nature and religious status of the child which in themselves cannot be reconciled with the theories of original sin and baptismal regeneration.

In his first catechism for little children[73] he refrains from using theological language, contenting himself with a simpler general statement. For the little children he pictures sin as a contagious and fatal disease which came upon mankind through Adam's disobedience and his eating of the forbidden fruit. For

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[69] Zinzendorf's catechisms are described and analyzed in *Chapter II.*

[70] Two declarations of the congregation at Herrnhut: *Notaritats Instrument*, 1729, *Bd. Sam.*, I, p. 2, and *Privat Erklaerung*, 1730, *Bd. Sam.*, I, p. 44; *Schreiben an Ihro Majestaet den Koenig von Schweden*, 1735, *Bd. Sam.*, I, p. 77.

[71] *Einige Fragen an die Gemeinde zu Herrnhut*, den 11. und 12. Aug. 1739, *Bd. Sam.*, I, p. 502; *Aufsatz vor dem General Synodo*, 1748, *Nat. Ref.*, *Beylagen*, p. 75; *Darlegung Richtiger Antworten*, 1751; *Apol. Schft.* 1752.

[72] *Londoner Reden*, 1746; *Pennsylvanische Reden*, 1747; *Berlinische Reden*, 1758; and *Discurse ueber die Augsburgische Confession*, 1747 and 1748.

[73] *Lautere Milch*, 1723.

this ravaging disease, however, Christ, the Great Physician, through his own sacrifice of himself in love, has provided an effective remedy which is applied to the individual child in the sacrament of baptism.[74]

In the two catechisms based on Luther's *Enchiridion,*[75] Zinzendorf adds to Luther's statements additional explanatory Bible quotations to which he prefixes leading questions, suggesting his expansion or interpretation of Luther's statement. As pointed out in the analyses of these two catechisms, Zinzendorf's supplementary questions with the biblical answers thereto, and which constitute the major portion of each book, are designed to predispose the student against any literal acceptance of these two cardinal doctrines of original sin and baptismal regeneration.[76]

In the little catechism of 1740, *Lehr-Buechlein,* republished in 1742 as (3) *Grund Lehren der Evangelischen Gemeinden,*[77] Zinzendorf undertook to provide "a connected chain of biblical truth" in support of those matters of faith and practice in which the Unity of the Brethren had been most severely criticized.[78] It is not based on any Lutheran or Reformed catechism or statement of creed. The discussion of baptism is inserted where it would naturally appear in an inductive discussion of Christian experience. Although still referred to as "the washing of regeneration," baptism is interpreted as an act symbolizing the laying aside of the old life of sin and putting on the new life in Christ.[79] Children are spoken of as already members of the kingdom of heaven.[80] Finally, in the catechism for the Reformed congregations of Pennsylvania[81] he drops all reference to baptismal regeneration or the washing of regeneration and treats baptism as "a memorial" of the fact that "God sends the spirit of his Son" on those who believe on his name.[82] Thus the last of Zinzendorf's

[74] See questions and answers Nos. 44–52, 56, 61, 62.

[75] *Gewisser Grund,* 1725; *Der kleine Catechismus zum Gebrauch der Lutherischen Gemeinden,* etc., 1742.

[76] Cf. discussion pages 34–43, and 43–45. [77] Analysis, pp. 33–39.

[78] *Zuverlaessige Nachricht Societate Evangelica,* in *By. Sam.,* p. 52.

[79] Cf. p. 50—Questions 1096 to 1105. [80] Cf. p. 50—Questions 1113 to 1130.

[81] *Kurzer Catechismus fuer Etliche Gemeinen der Reformirten Religion.*

[82] Cf. p. 59—Questions 73 to 89.

catechisms furnishes convincing evidence that he did not consider the acceptance of the dogmas of original sin and baptismal regeneration literally interpreted as essentials of belief.

Among the formal declarations prepared for special occasions, the clearest and most comprehensive are the statements made in Zinzendorf's letter to His Majesty the king of Sweden and the declaration presented to the General Synod of 1748. In the former he follows the Augsburg Confession article by article in free quotation with expansions and partial paraphrases intended to make clear his interpretation of that historic creedal statement.[83] In the latter the Moravian statement of doctrine is prepared especially with reference to its acceptability to the Presbyterian, Reformed, Episcopal, and other "tropes,"[84] that is, Brethren congregations affiliated with national or other churches in Germany, Holland, England, and elsewhere. In his doctrinal sermons and addresses his creedal statements are put in more popular language, but still harmonize with those found in the *Shorter Catechism* and in the Augsburg Confession. That is, when Zinzendorf talks theology he tries to square himself with the orthodox Lutheran statements of creed.

In addition to all of his more or less formal doctrinal statements there are scattered throughout Zinzendorf's other writings, both his printed sermons and addresses and the manuscript source materials,[85] letters, diaries and miscellaneous papers, a number of important declarations bearing on original sin and the significance of baptism in their relation to the religious status and training of children. In this study we are not concerned, however, with Zinzendorf's theology as such, nor with the variations in his statements of creed, except insofar as his fundamental doctrinal concepts, and more especially his interpretations of original sin and baptismal regeneration, affect his views concerning the religious nature and nurture of children. A summary statement of his position is here in order.

Original sin, according to Zinzendorf, is the inherited ten-

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[83] *Article II*, *By. Sam.*, p. 77, and *Article IX*, pp. 85, 86.

[84] *Nat. Ref.*, *Beylagen*, p. 82. [85] Cf. separate references in subsequent discussion.

dency toward evil common to all mankind. Through the guilt of Adam a subtle poison of disobedience entered into the fabric of human nature, corrupting every moral tendency and acting as a blight upon God's highest work of creation:

Since the fall, all men are by nature sinful. Because of this poison that has fallen upon human nature, man is conceived and born sinful, each person bringing a measure of sinfulness into the world as his natural inheritance.[86]

The evil inheritance includes both an incapacity toward the good and a positive tendency toward evil:

Considered by itself, we hold original sin to be the native incapacity toward all good and the contrary tendency toward all evil.[87]

Original sin does not consist in the fact that men are mere human beings, instead of holy angels, but, rather, in the fact that

Apart from the Saviour no human creature exists who has not by nature the ability and willingness to misuse his weaknesses, by transforming natural faults into preferences, shortcomings into desires, and to allow a weakness to become the object of pleasurable speculation.[88]

Original sin is really sin and involves actual guilt on the part of every human being, even children, without exception. On this account all mankind would be damned and eternally lost had not Christ through his blood paid the penalty for the sins of the whole world:[89]

In consideration of our salvation there are three points to be remembered: First, that we are lost; second, that we are damned; third, that we are redeemed. . . . And we are all three things at one and the same time; that is, every person, even though he does not yet know or have Christ, nevertheless is not only lost and damned, but already redeemed.[90]

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[86] *Schreiben an Ihro Majestaet den Koenig von Schweden*, Dec. 1735 in *Bd. Sam.*, I, p. 77. Cf. also 1734, *Theo. Bed.*, p. 64. 1748, *Nat. Ref.*, p. 82; 1749, *Hhn. Arhv.* H-R2A26; *J. H. D.*—Jan. 11, 1750; *Dis. Aug. Conf.*, 1747, and elsewhere.

[87] *Eine Fragen beantwortet*—Aug. 12, 1739, *Bd. Sam.*, I, p. 502. See also Ber. Red., p. 26—Mar. 10, 1738; *Dis. Aug. Conf.*, p. 36, Dec. 17, 1747; *J. H. D.*, Sept. 11. 1749 and *Hhn. Arhv.* R2A26, 4, p. 44.

[88] *J. H. D.*—May 5, 1751.

[89] *Bd. Sam.*, I, p. 77.

[90] *Ber. Red.*—March 16, 1738.

Redemption is as far-reaching as the effects of sin. All men are equally the inheritors of Christ's redeeming grace. His suffering avails for all. All are subjects of his love:

> The human soul had lost its Creator forever. . . . But through the blood of Christ every human soul has regained the privilege of once more becoming like unto him. Through this redemption all the past, all sin, the whole result of the fall—everything is done away.[91]

> This is the great and gracious reality of the imputation of the righteousness of Christ and the satisfaction which he has made for the sins of the whole world. Every soul that has not become again the deliberate servant of unrighteousness is redeemed whether such a person is baptized or not—that is our teaching.[92]

It would be unjust to condemn those who have not heard of Christ. It would be equivalent to saying that those already at the disadvantage of not having heard the gospel "should be punished a second time for their lack of knowledge and helplessness by being eternally lost."[93]

Because of this universal efficacy of the redemptive work of Christ, every individual begins life with a clear record. Every new-born child starts life as the child of God.

> All children are blessed; whether Tartars, Turks, or pagans, all have already been redeemed.[94]

The original state of the child is a state of innocence. This is the starting point and the foundation of Zinzendorf's religious-educational theory and practice. The child of Christian parents starts life with an even greater advantage on account of his more favorable natural inheritance and spiritual equipment. But no child because of original sin is excluded from the kingdom of God or from the benefits of salvation.

For children, therefore, the rite of baptism, efficacious as it may be in itself as an instrument of grace, cannot be indispensable to salvation:

> Should such a child or pupil of grace die before it is baptized, it

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[91] *Kd. Red.*—February 29, 1756.

[92] *Aplg. Schft.*, p. 146.

[93] *Kd. Red.*, March 7, 1756.

[94] *J. H. D.*, September 5, 1737.

will not for that reason be damned, but is redeemed through the blood of Christ shed upon the cross.[95]

All children, the world over, who die in infancy "belong to the Saviour and to his congregation." This fact alone gives assurance of the final triumph of Christ over Satan, since Satan cannot possibly get as many souls as belong to Christ.

Even if all the rest of the world were to become unfaithful and to forfeit its salvation, the Saviour would still have the largest number of souls, for he has the souls of the children, and they constitute the largest number. These are his. In regard to them there can be no competition between Christ and Satan. Upon them rests no obligation or requirement. They are all made blessed through the blood which was shed upon the cross. No claim can be laid against them until they themselves think and will and renew their bond of sin, and no little child can do that.[96]

Thus clearly and with emphasis Zinzendorf maintains that all children begin life as members of the kingdom of heaven. They are already redeemed through the meritorious suffering and death of Christ. Children that die in infancy are not lost, but saved unconditionally, regardless of whether they have or have not been baptized. Children that live and survive the period of infancy begin life in a positive state of grace which constitutes the initial stage in the individual's personal experience of salvation. One inescapable implication of this fact is the possibility, under favorable conditions, of maintaining through life, from earliest childhood to maturity, an unbroken experience of fellowship with Christ with resulting growth in grace from the beginning.

In his defense of the innocence of the little child and his recognized principle of free development from within, Zinzendorf finds the doctrine of baptismal regeneration more difficult to interpret satisfactorily to himself than the doctrine of original sin. All mankind would be eternally lost were it not for the redeeming sacrifice of Christ,

who through his blood made reconciliation for the sins of the whole world and, therefore, also for those of all children, for which reason

[95] *Bd. Sam.*, I, p. 77 [96] *Kd. Red.*, May 9, 1755.

baptism is necessary. In the sight of God it becomes [according to the statement in the Lutheran hymn which Zinzendorf here quotes] a red flood made crimson through the blood which heals the faults inherited from Adam and committed by the individual.[97]

It is not the water baptism that heals these faults wrought by sin. It is the martyr baptism of Christ and the shedding of his blood. In this transaction of redemptive suffering lies the transforming power which is present in the ceremony of water baptism only by authority of God's Word and through faith in Christ.

In the statement of faith presented to the Synod of 1748, after giving Article II of the Augsburg Confession the Article is explained as follows:

In connection with this article, which is the second in the Confession, it will be evident to our brethren in the faith and will be assumed by them without this reminder from us, that the word "baptism" can not here refer to water baptism (concerning which see proper place) but to the meritorious martyr baptism of Jesus which he endured for us on the cross and which constitutes the mystery present in baptismal water. Otherwise one might deduce from the literal context of this paragraph the damnation of unbaptized infants.[98]

Thus it is not his own baptism that cleanses the individual from the "inherited disease" of original sin. It is the baptism of suffering with which Christ was baptized in our stead. Such is the subtle evasion of meaning necessary for even a theoretical adaptation of this statement of the creed to Zinzendorf's own deeper conviction that the child does not come into the world weighted down with moral guilt, "full of evil lusts and desires," but pure and worthy to inherit the best that God and human society can provide.

Zinzendorf is not sure that the baptism of children is absolutely required on scriptural authority:

The baptism of children cannot be as clearly proven on Bible

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[97] *Schreiben an Ihro Maj. den Koenig von Schweden, Bd. Sam.*, p. 77.

[98] *Aufsatz . . . dem General Synodo des Jahres 1748 praesentiret—Nat. Ref.*, p. 82.

authority as some other doctrines. It is not, however, contrary to the Scripture, so that the discussion with regard to it is chiefly a matter of church history, with which the ordinary person is not familiar. We believe that Christian parents owe it to their children to seek diligently to preserve them in the baptismal grace so that it will not be necessary for them to experience conversion.[99]

It is certain, however, that the practice is not contrary to Scripture,[100] for which reason its benefits should not be withheld from children:

We believe with our whole heart that children should be baptized. Baptism is a transaction by means of which God's grace comes upon the individual with water. Where this can be administered to children, it is done. Faith on their part is not necessary, though it is possible.[101]

In an orderly compliance with scriptural command, baptism is necessary, that is,

when it is convenient and proper; when a person can be baptized. . . . . Jesus was careful not to say that he who is not baptized will be damned, but he who does not believe. Wherever it is possible, there Jesus requires baptism.[102]

In the baptism of children, however, the rite should be restricted in its application to the children of parents, one of whom at least is a believer. In such cases

there should be no scruples concerning the baptism of children. But if both parents are unbelievers, we should not baptize the children. . . . because of the danger of reversal of conduct and allegiance.[103]

At other times, even late in life, he wavers and is not so sure and, in agreement with the creedal statement, attributes mystical efficacy to baptism, independent of faith or conduct in the individual. Its benefit is first of all a means of protection against evil influences:

When a child is baptized, the devil and his cohorts are commanded to depart, and I certainly believe they obey.[104]

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[99] *Privat Erklaerung, Bd. Sam.*, I, p. 50. [100] *Ibid.*

[101] *Hhn. Arhv.*, R6AC13, 1. [102] *Penn. Red.*, p. 39.

[103] *J. H. D.*, September 17, 1749. [104] *Kd. Red.*, December 3, 1755.

It acts as a deterrent against a reverse on the part of people to the status of wild animals. As an ordinance of the church it should be administered to all evangelical Christians and their children:

In relation to people who do not know God as love, all evangelical ordinances are to be regarded as legal requirements. Their efficacy (in such cases) arises from the fact that religion has become an institution for the humanization of people, and to keep them human. Otherwise they would devour each other. In the measure in which I do not deny (even as I do not) the influence of the Divine Spirit to heathen children, I cannot dispute it in the case of children of nominal Christians. Whosoever has not been robbed by the enemy's disputations still continues in the faith of childhood. Such are truly under God's immediate tutelage. Even as circumcision without the law did not avail, so with baptism the argument is the same. As children are circumcised, so may children be baptized. Baptism is something external. External matters are for children and more suited to them than to adults, who cling to external things and by so doing lose their inner force and significance.[105]

But the influence of baptism in the case of children is positive as well as preventive. Through it the individual becomes spiritually more alive and more susceptible to the influence of the Holy Spirit. But this does not mean that the Holy Spirit must wait upon baptism before entering the heart of the child:

That holy baptism is an evidence that the child has not yet been born again and that the Holy Spirit does not dwell in the child, is not taught by the Augsburg Confession nor by the Scriptures.[106] For baptism is never regeneration itself, but the bath of regeneration. This is verbatim according to the Bible. Nor is it contrary to the Scriptures that if a child has not yet received the Holy Spirit, it may receive him in the moment in which he is baptized, . . . and this is the ordinary procedure of grace.[107]

Henceforth the heart of the child will be more sensitive and potentially more responsive to the appeal of the suffering Saviour.

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[105] *Hhn. Arhv.*, R20C19, 3—October, 1725.

[106] "Can any man forbid the water, that these should not be baptized, who have received the Holy Spirit as well as we?" *Acts* 10. 47.

[107] *Dis. Aug. Conf.*, p. 36.

In this sense baptismal regeneration is a reality. In fact, however, regeneration is a continuous process involving a gradual transformation of the individual into the likeness of Christ. In baptism this regenerative process is given a positive start through the grace of spiritual cleansing symbolized in the sprinkling with water. But such regeneration, such vital sensitizing of the soul, does not complete the work of salvation. It makes the completion of that work easier. Children, because of their innocence, are in all cases fit subjects for this sacred rite:

> Furthermore, the Saviour concerns himself so much with children that one should rather entertain scruples against administering the sacraments to frivolous adults, already hardened in worldliness, than to an innocent child, to whom the kingdom of God belongs anyway.[108]

Children of Christian parents have the additional advantage of a more favorable spiritual inheritance and are subject to the special ministrations of the Holy Spirit. Such children are precious hostages of grace, intrusted to the parents for the purpose of their proper protection, nurture, and training.[109] They are royal personages, set apart from their conception and dedicated to the service of God. In them lies the hope of the future, for upon them will rest the responsibility for that extraordinary service that is needed to bring all men to a knowledge of Christ. They are the promise as well as the hope of better days to come. They are,

> that is to say, persons who are destined to carry forward the divine purpose further than it has been possible for us to do this in our time, because we have been working largely with materials in the rough.[110]

Children so conceived and begotten are to be regarded not only as innocent and pure, but as fit and capable of being filled with the Holy Spirit even before birth:

> Children begotten in the presence of the Lord are at all times worthy of being sprinkled with the blood of Christ (symbolized in

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[108] *Sonderbare Gespraeche*, XIV, p. 121f.

[109] *Penn. Red.*, II, p. 130—April 12, 1742. [110] *Ibid.*

Christian baptism) and of being sanctified by the Spirit. They are to be regarded, not only as not unclean, but as those who may already be filled with the Holy Spirit in their mothers' wombs.[111]

Indeed, this is to be expected and looked forward to by Christian parents in relation to all children born to them. Such is the counsel given to the married women at Herrnhut in 1731, to whom the divine purpose of motherhood is explained because of the influence which their own state of grace of necessity must have upon their children.

This does not mean that the tendencies toward sin are eliminated:

> Our children, with all their grace and special benefits, are nevertheless nothing more than sinful human beings and remain such. They are to be baptized because they have been prepared by their parents for the grace of regeneration and have already actually participated in the regeneration wrought on the cross. They therefore receive baptism as a "ticket of participation" in this regeneration.[112]
>
> Children of God do not beget children of God, for what is born of the flesh is flesh, nevertheless, according to the apostle, our children have this distinction with the Saviour, that they are regarded as holy and pure and belong especially to him from birth. We, therefore, train them for him, without too severe a discipline or without preaching them to death, but, rather, explaining to them from time to time their great destiny and high privilege.[113]

For such children of the congregation the experience of conversion later in life becomes unnecessary:

> All bapized children of the world must be converted, but children of the congregation not so. Baptism among worldly people is indeed true baptism, but is not for the recipient the same thing as it is to members of the congregation. To them baptism is a binding force, enabling them to continue in grace so that one attributes his state of blessedness (salvation) to baptism.[114]

Preservation and nurture, therefore, are as important as baptism. Baptismal regeneration does not avail in the case of children that are not preserved in the covenant of their baptism:

> We do not acknowledge any of our descendants as brother or

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[111] *Bd. Sam.*, I, p. 77.
[112] *J. H. D.*—September, 1749.
[113] *Ibid.*—August 4, 1748.
[114] *Hhn. Arhv.*, R2A3A1—June 18, 1740.

sister unless he has been either preserved in his baptismal covenant or reborn through the word (converted).[115]

Parents of baptized children therefore should strive by every means in their power to protect and safeguard their children in this covenant. A child of Christian parents not only begins life as a member of the kingdom of heaven, but under proper conditions of nurture and training may be expected so to continue through life.

Summary. With reference to the religious status of the child, Zinzendorf the theologian is in conflict with Zinzendorf the keen observer and teacher of children. Sometimes the one and sometimes the other gains the ascendency. Zinzendorf the theologian subscribes to the prevailing dogma regarding original sin and baptismal regeneration. Zinzendorf the pedagogue recognizes the innocence, irresponsibility, and native possibilities for good or evil of the little child. The theologian yields to the pedagogue to the extent of trying to explain away the harsher aspects of his creed and attempting a reconciliation by interpretation. The pedagogue does not yield, but insists that whatever may be the theological difficulty and need for mystical interpretation of the theological formula of salvation, the child begins life as the child of God, innocent and susceptible to both divine and human guidance, responding as naturally to the good as to the evil in its environment. What is to become of this pure, sensitive human personality-in-embryo is the problem and the responsibility of the adult community and congregation. The trust is sacred, because the life is precious and has possibilities that cannot be measured by adult experience.

The Principle of Religious Growth

The positive benefit conveyed in baptism Zinzendorf calls baptismal grace (Tauf-Gnade). It is this spiritual endowment that is to be cherished. In its possession children are to be preserved and protected. They need never lose it, but may grow up in grace from the beginning:

One should preserve children in this baptismal grace, exerting

[115] *Bd. Sam.*, I, p. 14—1729.

all diligence to this end. It is a sin crying unto heaven that this is so little thought of and that as soon as a child is baptized it is immediately forgotten, although one knows very well that these children are dedicated and surrendered souls many of whom, but for this unaccountable negligence, would be preserved in their baptismal grace until their blessed return unto Him.[116]

Although the grace in baptism is real and efficacious, it is not absolute or irrevocable. One may lose the blessing thus attained:

Concerning this point there can be no further dispute. There are multitudes of people who forfeit baptismal grace. They have lost the spark of spiritual life and can no longer build their hopes upon the fact that they were baptized. For, although they did receive grace at that time and were washed with the blood of the Lamb, they have not only again become dead in sin, but have actually fallen into all manner of wickedness.[117]

It is for this reason that nurture and training are as important as baptism. Especially is this true in dealing with children:

Baptism is their anointment, and from that moment forth they should be dealt with in no other wise than as born kings in providing for their spirits, in discipline and guidance, and in all respects. . . . For the blood of the Lamb is truly the spirit of all baptismal water and the substance whereof the water is but a vehicle through which it is applied to us. Such a spiritually anointed creature one should deal with carefully, with fear and trembling, as one would transport a precious treasure in a frail vessel over a stile.[118]

It is this consideration that gives purpose and direction to the plan of religious nurture and training in the Moravian congregations:

In our congregation at Herrnhut we give the most diligent attention to the little ones that they may be actually brought into the experience and maintained therein, for the sake of which the Saviour commanded adults that they should turn about and become again as little children.[119]

Upon the occasion of his first departure for America in 1738, Zinzendorf wrote from shipboard to the congregation at Herrn-

[116] *An Ihro Maj. den Koenig von Schweden, Art. IX.—Bd. Sam.*, I, p. 72.

[117] *Ber. Red.* VII—March 16, 1738.

[118] *Kurtzer Aufsatz—Sond. Gesp.*, p. 92.

[119] *Bd. Sam.*, I, p. 72.

hut, conveying to them what he thought might prove to be his last ecclesiastical will and testament. In this important document, *"Eventual Testament,"* he discusses a wide range of matters affecting the life, faith, and discipline of the brotherhood. What he says concerning religious nurture and training reveals a clear recognition of the principles of religious growth paralleling physical and intellectual development. It suggests also a program for the organization of the religious community for purposes of Christian nurture. The latter is based apparently upon the actual practice already in vogue at Herrnhut and other congregations which Zinzendorf seems to consider as still tentative and not fulfilling his ideal. His clearest and best definition of child nurture is given in this document:

> What, then, is child nurture? It is a sacred, priestly method whereby souls are brought up from infancy so as not to think otherwise than that they belong to Christ and so that blessedness for them shall consist in knowing and serving him, and their greatest misfortune in becoming separated from him in any way whatsoever.[120]

The first and most important aim in religious nurture, according to Zinzendorf, is the preservation of the child in its original innocence and baptismal grace as already a member of the Christian fellowship, together with its gradual establishment in the conscious personal experience of love and service for Christ.

The Holy Spirit does not leave the heart of the child unattended, but guards, protects and directs insofar as the individual's own will and the human agencies that control the child's environment in each case will permit:

> To the children the Saviour gives everything freely. They receive, as it were, without effort on their part. The Holy Spirit brings them into the experience of grace more fully from year to year.[121]

This guiding influence of the Holy Spirit constitutes a school within the heart which Zinzendorf commends to the children as just as important as the school conducted with the children

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[120] *Eventual Testament—Bd. Sam.*, II, p. 252. [121] *Kd. Red.*, Oct. 16, 1756.

by their elders. Under this tutelage of the Holy Spirit the measure of grace and the degree of understanding should advance from year to year:

Therefore go forward in this grace, advancing from year to year, from month to month and from week to week, from one state of grace, from one experience of his precious nearness, from one class to the next until the Saviour takes you in hand and says to you, "You have received and enjoyed enough. Now give something to somebody else in service."[122]

This spiritual growth has its basis in the corresponding unfolding of the intellectual life:

Assuming that we grow in our manner of thought, then to be grown up means that a young man passes from the period of boyhood, which is his manner of thought, to that which it shall be for the rest of his life. This experience is something very blessed, and it is the experience of growing up. Since purity of heart and soul is first realized and tested at this age, it is fitting also that the understanding should now first become clear so that henceforth progress shall be in routine accomplishment and in the use of those gifts which the Saviour has given to you.[123]

Under the molding influence of the Holy Spirit the life is gradually transformed in thought and word and deed into the likeness of the Saviour. Christ comes actually to dwell in the human heart. Of this conscious living presence of Christ within the heart there will be outward evidence in facial expression and conduct corresponding to the inner state of grace. This is to be expected even in children:

When the Christlikeness is reflected in your faces, in the manner of your thought, in your words and conduct, . . . then we may rejoice with you, which we cannot fully until the Spirit has been imparted to each, and it can be said for each one of you individually as it was said of Jesus, "The Spirit came upon him and remained."[124]

In making clear to the children themselves what is involved in becoming Christlike, Zinzendorf frequently quotes from the apostle Paul, "Know ye not that ye are a temple of God, and

[122] *Kd. Red.*, June 11, 1756.
[123] *J. H. D.*, February 20, 1758.
[124] *Kd. Red.*, April 11, 1756.

that the Spirit of God dwelleth in you?" (1 Cor. 3. 16.) Like Paul, he thinks of the human body as being this temple, which the Holy Spirit can use only as he comes to direct the soul that controls the body. "Know ye not that your body is a temple of the Holy Ghost which is in you, which ye have from God? And ye are not your own; for ye were bought with a price: glorify God therefore in your body" (1 Cor. 6. 19, 20).

In teaching the little children at Herrnhut, Zinzendorf develops this figure at greater length in simple and child-like fashion: The body is a house which the heavenly Father has provided as a dwelling place for the soul, until he shall call the soul back to himself to dwell with him forever. When this house is no longer needed it is broken down (folded together) and put away. It is really a wonderful dwelling in which the soul is permitted to live. It is alive, like the soul itself. It grows when the soul grows and gets larger and stronger and more serviceable all the time. In such a wonderful, living house nothing that is bad or unclean should be permitted. It must be kept in order so that the Holy Spirit may dwell there with the soul. Because the Holy Spirit is to dwell there we call it a temple. For this reason also everything that is done in this house should be done in a respectable and orderly fashion in order that the soul need never be ashamed of its condition.

> This temple must be kept swept and orderly. It must not be permitted to have a single spot or blemish. Nothing that belongs to its furnishings and equipment must be lost or misplaced. . . . Everything that we do must have a purpose in connection with the building and care of this temple in order that it may become larger, more ample, more usable, more enduring and more inviting and cheerful—in a word, more serviceable to Him who is to dwell therein.[125]

The thought of individual growth and of corresponding increasing preparation for a larger measure of service is kept constantly before the children. Their thought with regard to their physical health, their growth in body and mind and in connection with the things they learn and the changes that take place

[125] *Kd. Red.*—May 10, 1756.

in them, should be that the body is a temple of the Holy Spirit, in which the soul has been placed as watchman and guardian.

The Holy Spirit may have need of this, or would be pleased with that. When I was a child I did thus, as I grew larger, thus, and, now that I am still older, thus; and everything in just this way in order that the temple may be in every way serviceable to the Holy Spirit and to the Saviour.

The Holy Spirit should be able to accomplish with one who is twelve years old twice as much as with one who is six, and with one who is eighteen twice as much as with one who is twelve, and with one who is twenty-four twice as much as with one who is eighteen.[126]

The method of preservation does not always succeed. Some children go astray and through their own negligence and that of their spiritual guardians, or of their own free volition, become alienated from the heavenly Father. Often they wander into ways of wrongdoing and of positive sinfulness. For such children also parents and teachers are to manifest the same sympathetic and patient concern, while seeking diligently by every possible means to bring about their return to the love and service of the Saviour. In such cases conversion, including repentance, is necessary.

If children follow after the wicked one and devote themselves to sin which, alas! is but too often the case, we, by the grace of God, must lead them back again out of the error of their way. For when they are converted they are always sure to find that God on his part keeps his covenant inviolably, and is very willing to renew it again with everyone with whom he has once engaged himself.[127]

The way of conversion, however, is to be regarded as unusual and exceptional in children. Conversion with its accompanying struggle of repentance should be foreign to their experience. Repentance

involves nothing less than a spiritual convulsion resulting from the struggle either between a raging malady (sin) and the patient's determination to become well, or between the recognized demands of God's law and the persisting contrary tendencies of the heart . . . Only a deplorable and unmerciful theology would condemn

[126] *Kd. Red.*, May 10, 1756. [127] *Sp.—Exp. Chr. Doct.*, p. 238.

souls because they are born into the Kingdom without any such spiritual convulsion and because they are delivered tenderly into the arms of the good shepherd. . . . I regard every attempt at forcing as unnecessary to spiritual birth and as positively harmful. If there are cases of painful birth struggle in accordance with the diversity of individuals, the most that human instrumentality can accomplish is to modify this experience as far as possible.[128]

Zinzendorf from the first was very insistent upon this point. With the fuller development of his theological views and his philosophy of religious teaching he grew increasingly impatient with those who insisted upon a conversion experience in children, or, as he expresses it, "those who insist upon annoying children about conversion." Parents would do better if they desisted from this practice and endeavored instead to

prove themselves true guardians, and keep from the children every harm and obstacle, seeking, rather, to foster in them the disposition of friendship toward themselves and toward the Saviour. The Saviour himself will find his way into the heart of every individual child. . . . But many parents, and housefathers especially, obstruct the Saviour's way to the heart of the child through their foolish, absurd eagerness and impatience to form their children according to their own notions, to such an extent that the children simulate and so conduct themselves as to appear as though they belong to the Saviour.[129]

Either deception or rebellion and consequent alienation from Christ are the natural results of an attempt to force the religious experience of a growing soul into channels determined by adult theology.

The natural way of salvation for children under proper conditions of nurture and tutelage is the way of growth in grace, which is already theirs through the universal redemption wrought by Christ. Therein lies the advantage to children. Christ is already near to them. They need have no difficulty in finding him, so long as the Christ-like spirit and purity of heart which were theirs in infancy are preserved to them.

Children, you have this advantage: that we who are grown up must be converted and become once more as you are; for people

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[128] *Nat. Ref.*, p. 67–68. [129] *Red. Ev.*, II, p. 728. *Matt.* 10.11.

who are not willing to become like little children cannot find Jesus at all, but walk right past him without seeing him. For this reason each of you, when the time comes that he must leave the years of childhood, should still retain and hold fast to his childlike nature.[130]

Naturally, there must come a time when even those reared in the Christian way from infancy will become definitely conscious of their personal relationship to Jesus Christ, and when they will clearly recognize that it is through the merit of Christ's suffering alone that they are saved. This awakening to spiritual consciousness is likely to be accompanied in the individual by mental and emotional disturbances, resulting in a sense of spiritual embarrassment which grows out of a new and overwhelming consciousness of the hideousness of sin, the awful reality of Christ's vicarious suffering, and the infinite greatness of God's redeeming love. But such a state of spiritual embarrassment should not be prolonged, lest spiritual injury result.

When the time comes that a boy or girl ceases to accept the blessing and blessedness of the Kingdom day by day, without questioning, as a little child, then such an individual to whom the Saviour has already become near and dear will unavoidably experience a sense of embarrassment, but this must not be prolonged, otherwise it will be injurious.[131]

Rather should this awakening of the soul lead promptly to a humble but glad acceptance of this salvation which henceforth has a new and very intimate personal significance for the individual. Sin and salvation have both thereby become tremendously real. Salvation now means the assurance of sins forgiven.

When the happy hour once arrives in which the Saviour appears to us as we must come to behold him in the spirit, as the Man of Sorrows in the midst of his self-appointed martyrdom—if we once behold our Friend suffering for us, there then takes place a complete transformation of heart and disposition, and of the whole manner of one's thinking, and from that blessed hour on one counts the beginning, establishment, and continuance of life.[132]

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[130] *Kd. Red.*, October 16, 1756.

[131] *Ibid.*, January 11, 1756.

[132] *Kd. Red.*, May 23, 1755.

This new spiritual awakening is not a conversion experience in the New Testament sense, or in the sense in which Zinzendorf uses the term "conversion." It does not involve repentance, nor a reversal of conduct, nor a disavowal of one's past. It is, however, an important part of the experience of regeneration, which Zinzendorf regards as continuous up to this point, and as normally beginning in baptism. This spiritual awakening may come suddenly, or it may come gradually, almost unconsciously. In either case it brings assurance of salvation.

When a person has the abiding assurance in his own soul that Christ has redeemed him personally by his death on the cross, then all danger is past and such a person is truly blessed.[133]

The personal relationship of the soul to Christ takes on new meaning. Christ is more highly exalted and reigns supreme over heart and mind and will. This, for Zinzendorf, is the culmination of the experience of salvation in the individual.

With the retention of the childlike nature, increase in understanding and ability to render service are to be expected.

The grace you have received in childhood is the foundation and beginning of your salvation, and, if all goes well with you, you may retain that state of grace always.[134]

A boy of fifteen years must still possess what he possessed in the cradle. He must only express it better and be able to tell about it better. The faithfulness, the childlikeness, the obedience toward the Saviour, the desire to be as he would like to see us—these must grow with the years. [135]

To preservation must be added instruction. How much in detail is involved in this twofold educational process Zinzendorf and his co-workers and immediate successors seem to have realized exceedingly well for the time in which they lived. Thus Frohberger writes, in 1790:

The chief concern of the Brethren is that their children from their tenderest years shall be protected against evil example and harmful impressions and, as far as possible, from every danger of being led astray into evil. Not only shall they be thus protected,

[133] *Kd. Red.*, May 24, 1755. [134] *Ibid.*, July 24, 1756.

[135] *Ibid.*, September 19, 1755.

but it is equally the concern of their elders that the love of God in Christ Jesus shall be planted in their tender hearts and that that which is good shall be made attractive to them; that, as children of God who created and redeemed them, they may live wholly for his honor and good pleasure and be useful and serviceable to human society.[136]

Even more explicitly does Spangenberg point out the things involved in attaining this twofold objective of preservation and growth in grace. In his exposition of the teaching and practice of the Moravian Church in the period immediately following the death of Zinzendorf he declares:

It is incumbent upon us . . . to train up the children for our Saviour from the very hour of their baptism, preserve them from all bad things, which might be hurtful to their hearts; to excite them to every good thing which is pleasing to God; to put them in mind of the covenant of God with us, into which they have been received by baptism; to encourage them to confidence toward the Father in heaven, who has adopted them for his children; to paint before their eyes Jesus Christ who, by his bitter suffering and death, hath redeemed them; and to make them acquainted with that which Jesus Christ has commanded his disciples; to lead them into a childlike and confident converse with Jesus Christ, especially in prayer; to accustom them to attend to the voice of the Holy Spirit, who brings all things to our remembrance whatsoever our Saviour hath said.[137]

For this training and guidance responsibility rests upon the Christian home, the school, and the religious congregation. Together these three institutions must determine the organization and conduct of religious education.

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[136] *Briefe Ueber Herrnhut*, XIV, pp. 410–412.

[137] *Sp. Exp. Chr. Doct.*, p. 237.

CHAPTER IV

THE ORGANIZATION AND ADMINISTRATION OF RELIGIOUS NURTURE AND TRAINING

Christian Nurture in the Home

The work of Christian nurture and training begins and centers in the Christian home. This is the underlying assumption of Zinzendorf's theory regarding the administration of religious education. From the beginning to the end of his public career, 1722 to 1760, the primacy of the home in religious education receives repeated emphasis and progressive amplification in Zinzendorf's writings and other recorded public and private utterances.[1] Even in the midst of wavering and often contrary practice at Herrnhut[2] and elsewhere,[3] Zinzendorf insists that early parental training in the Christian home is the ideal.[4] Deviations from this ideal are only concessions of expediency[5] which, for the most part, the future development of the congregation should make unnecessary.[6]

A natural basis for Zinzendorf's strong conviction on this point is to be found in his own fortunate childhood experience.

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[1] Including: *Poems, Deut..Ged.*, pp. 51 and 63; *Letters, Bd. Sam.*, I, 1, p. 72 and II, 1, p. 252. *Addresses, Hpt. Schl.*, 190, and in *J. H. D.; Sermons, Penn. Red.*, II, p. 130. *Official Declaration, Bd. Sam.*, I, 1, p. 44, *Aplg. Schft.*, p. 420; *Synodical Records:* 1747, in *Bd. Sam.*, I, p. 166; 1752 (London) in *Hht. Arhv.*, R2A35-BS350—hereinafter quoted or otherwise specifically cited.

[2] Compare *Uttendoerfer* in *M. G. P.*, Vol. 51. At Herrnhut the orphanage, children's dormitories, choir houses and other institutions during Zinzendorf's lifetime largely displaced the home as the primary institution for the religious training of children. The reasons for this transfer of responsibility from the home to the religious community are set forth in another part of this chapter.

[3] During Zinzendorf's lifetime all the early Moravian communities were under his influence and control. Herrnhut, as the mother church and settlement, set the pattern in matters of organization and procedure.

[4] *J. H. D.*, October 11, 1758; *Niesk Archiv* N. B., II, R, 1, 25.

[5] *J. H. D.*, June 11, 1751; *Aplg. Schft.*, p. 330.

[6] *J. H. D.*, August 3, 1753; *Bd. Sam.*, I, 1, p. 166.

Both his parents were cultured, devout Christians,[7] personal friends and followers of Philip Jacob Spener,[8] who personally acted as sponsor at the baptism of the young count.[9] Owing to the premature death of his father,[10] and the early remarriage of his mother, the boy Zinzendorf, during the first ten years of his life, was brought up by his maternal grandmother, the Countess von Gersdorff, and her daughter, Zinzendorf's aunt, Henrietta. The grandmother was in after years remembered by Zinzendorf as "a truly great woman,"[11] and a consistently devout Christian. Of the religious impressions and training received in her home we have a description written by Zinzendorf in 1740, as part of an extended footnote to the introduction to the first volume of the *Buedingische Sammlung*.[12] "In the intimacy of her home," writes Zinzendorf, "I overheard conversations with the Saviour, and concluded that what I heard at family worship was not the whole of that person's communion, but that she must in private have held infinitely more conversation with the Lord. My Aunt Henrietta prayed with me at evening and in the morning, and during the day conducted herself in accordance with her prayer."[13] An atmosphere of worship thus pervaded the home. To precept and example were added informal conversations on moral and religious subjects within the range of the boy's experience. Concerning the aunt who usually conducted these conversations, Zinzendorf records: "Of her I had no fear. She found out all that was bad and all that was good about me."[14] Added to this informal training there were regular hours of instruction, including instruction in religion, by qualified tutors, one of whom at least[15]

[7] *Sp. Z. L.*, I, pp. 7–11.

[8] Philip Jacob Spener (1635–1703) was the founder of German Pietism (1670). At the time of Zinzendorf's birth Spener was Court Preacher at Dresden, where Zinzendorf's father held the Cabinet position.

[9] *Sp. Z. L.*, I, p. 5. [10] When Zinzendorf was six months old.

[11] In *Bd. Sam.*, I, 1, footnote to Introduction.

[12] The Buedingische Sammlung (Bd. Sam.), is an early collection of Zinzendorfiana edited by Zinzendorf himself and published at Buedingen 1742 to 1745 in six volumes of eighteen Parts (Stueck) and 3,000 pages with 552 separate documents. [13] *Bd. Sam.*, I, 1, footnote to Introduction. [14] *Ibid.*

[15] Christian Ludwig Edeling, who later became public school inspector (1740). He was for three years Zinzendorf's tutor.

made a lasting impression on young Zinzendorf by the intelligent, sympathetic interest he manifested in the religious experience and growth of his pupil.[16] After nearly forty years Zinzendorf looked back upon this early home training in religion as having "definitely determined the whole future manner of his life."[17] In a measure at least it determined also his appreciation of the importance of the Christian home for the religious nurture and training of children. Of that appreciation his public declarations in defense of Moravian teachings and practice,[18] his sermons and addresses to parents and prospective parents,[19] and before synods and conferences of religious workers,[20] leave no doubt. He regarded the Christian family as the most important social unit in the divine economy of the kingdom of God.[21]

His reverence for the marriage relation among Christians and his philosophy of its symbolical significance for the Christian congregation as exemplifying the mystical union between Christ and the Church[22] were consistently maintained throughout his life.[23]. At the age of twenty-two Zinzendorf wrote a wedding poem in honor of the marriage of his former schoolmate, the younger Francke, at Halle. The poem is a glorification of wedlock and of the Christian family. In its thirty-two eight-line stanzas the author undertakes to refute what he regards as a widespread erroneous theological dogma regarding marriage which makes of it a convenient social institution for the legitimate gratification

[16] Zinzendorf mentions one specially impressive conversation following an evening prayer service, when his tutor pointed out to him clearly why and how he (Zinzendorf) belonged, not to himself but to Christ.

[17] *Bd. Sam.*, I, 1, as above.

[18] Declaration of the Congregation at Herrnhut written by Zinzendorf in 1730, Bd. Sam., I, 1, p. 44. See also Zinzendorf's declaration to state officials at Dresden in February, 1732, *Aplg. Schft.*, p. 411f.

[19] An das Ehe-Chor gehaltene Reden, in *Hpt. Schl.*, pp. 79, 190 and 290f.

[20] Synod of 1747, in *By. Sam.*, p. 166.

[21] *Aplg. Schft.*, p. 608.

[22] Suggested by Paul's admonition to the Ephesians (5. 22–33); *Gem. Red.*, p. 96f.

[23] *Aplg. Schft.*, p. 607. At the Synod of 1750 Zinzendorf says regarding his views on this subject: "I have concerned myself with this matter for twenty-eight years (i.e., since 1722), and thought as I do now before ever there was a congregation."

of physical passion, which in and of itself is always and wholly sinful. As opposed to this conception, Zinzendorf insists that sinful lust is not necessarily present in married life. He says in effect that among Christians this relationship may be sanctified through mutual greater love of both man and wife for Christ, and by exemplifying in this human bond the sacred intimate relationship of Christ to his church set forth in the fifth chapter of Ephesians. Such Christian marriages should be an example both to worldly-minded people and to timid anxious Pietists who by taking offense at marriage fall a prey to spiritual pride. If such a Christian marriage be blessed with children, these are to be brought from infancy to love and serve God. Zinzendorf's statement of this last point freely translated reads:

> "If to such the Creator vouchsafe children
> They're trained for him and not for men;
> To love, to serve, to die for him.
> Parental example at the same time teaches
> How time for eternity may be employed
> And every step be taken in the ways of God."[24]

Later in the same year (1722) Zinzendorf wrote another poem commemorating his own betrothal and dedicated to his fiancée. In it he uses the Beatitudes of Jesus as descriptive of the minds of bride and bridegroom and closes:

> "We then love thee, O Love divine;
> Our love while it endures
> Is but a representation of the way
> In which in eternity thou wilt love us."[25]

The refugee settlement in Herrnhut, begun in the late autumn of 1722, became firmly established in 1723.[26] In 1727 Zinzendorf, having resigned his Cabinet position in Dresden, cast in his lot with the Moravians and joined the colony on his own estate.[27] He soon realized the need for specific training of these

[24] *Auszug aus einem Hochzeits-Gedicht* au den jungen Herrn Franken in Halle, in *Deut. Ged.*, pp. 51–58.

[25] *Einige Hochzeits-Gedanken*, in *Deut. Ged.*, pp. 63–68.

[26] *Anfge. Hhts.*, p. 193f. *Sp. Z. L.*, pp. 230f. [27] *Sp. Z. L.*, p. 403f.

people for the responsibilities of family life and promptly undertook to supply the need.[28] The early results of this instruction are reflected in a declaration of the congregation concerning its faith and practice in 1730.[29] Paragraph 21 of the declaration refers to marriage as "a holy divine ordinance" and a relationship that may be maintained in chastity of spirit. The forbidding of marriage as sinful is characterized as a "devilish doctrine" and the destruction of marriage as "wicked." Further evidence of this attitude is found in the closing paragraphs of Zinzendorf's memorable letter to His Majesty the king of Sweden, December, 1735,[30] intended as an exposition of Moravian faith and practice especially also in regard to the Augsburg Confession. In the brief paragraph referring to family life, Zinzendorf contends that this should afford opportunity for stamping out sinful desire by means of Christian discipline and concludes, "Let him to whom this discipline is irksome withdraw himself entirely from Christian teaching, knowing that he will thereby forfeit every Christian reward."[31] In 1732 it was already customary at Herrnhut to conduct the wedding ceremony in such a religiously impressive manner and after such careful preparation on the part of both participants that "it is not to be wondered at that there are so many happy marriages in the congregation," or that the children of such parents "by means of continued careful training and worthy parental example, should become models of modesty, obedience, and earnest-mindedness" at an early age.[32]

The intimate connection between married life and the nurture and training of children is emphasized in Zinzendorf's fare-

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[28] *M. G. P.*, Vol. 51, p. 179.

[29] *Privat-Erklaerung der Gemeinde zu Herrnhut*, Anno 1730, in *Bd. Sam.*, I, 1, p. 44f (cf. par. 21). This declaration was written by Zinzendorf in answer to certain widely circulated slanderous criticisms of unfriendly outsiders.

[30] *Schreiben au Ihro Maj. den Konig von Schweden*, 1735, in *Bd. Sam.*, I, 1, pp. 72–108.

[31] *Bd. Sam.*, I, 1, p. 98.

[32] *Des Herrn Ordinarii Deduction* (Declaration) an die Evangelische Herren Ministros, und wuerkliche Geheime Raethe in Dresden, occasione der ersten hohen Gommiszion vor Herrnhut 1732. M. February, in *Aplg. Schft.*, p. 411f (cf. p. 420).

well letter to the Herrnhut congregation written from shipboard at the time of his first visit to America, "Zugelassenes Eventual-Testament an die Gemeinde, 1738."[33] Marriage shall not be permitted to interfere with one's life-work. It is not to be contracted thoughtlessly, nor frivolously, nor to gratify passion. The begetting of children is to be regarded as a sacred and highly important function. In the congregation "children are begotten and born only unto the Lord, as in his presence" (damit in der Gemeinde keine andere Kinder gezeugt werden als dem Herrn und vor dem Herrn).[34] It is in this same letter and in this immediate connection that Zinzendorf gives the definition of child nurture as "the sacred priestly method whereby children are brought up from infancy so as never to think otherwise than that they are the children of God."[35] It was this reverent regard for marriage and Christian parenthood that brought about the organization of the Choir for Married Folks (Ehe-Chor)[36] for purposes of their separate and specific instruction regarding parental duties. It likewise led to the introduction into the Moravian ritual of special prayers and litanies for married members of the congregation.

One such prayer is given in "The Church-Litany of the Brethren used in the Brethren's communities, and also in all Places where there are regulated congregations," which is included in the report of the English Parliamentary Committee in 1749 prior to the passage of the Act permitting Moravian emigrants "to settle in His Majesty's [George II] Colonies in America."[37] The litany appears on page 77f. of the documentary Appendix to the committee report. The prayer for married persons reads,

Bless the holy matrimony;
Let those who marry be as tho' they did not marry;
Let them have a double Care for what belongs to the Lord;

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[33] *Bd. Sam.*, II, 1, pp. 252–284. [34] *Bd. Sam.*, II, 1, p. 257.

[35] *Ibid.*, p. 258. [36] *Beschreibung von Herrnhut*, p. 50.

[37] *Acta Fratrum Unitatis in Anglia* MDCCXLIX contains the Act of Parliament, the Report of the Committee, and the documentary evidence on which the Committee based its favorable report.

Teach them to beget and bear for thee all the fruit of their bodies;
Regenerate our children thro' Water and the Holy Spirit,
And take them in thy Arms from the mother's womb;
Perfect praise out of the Mouths of our sucklings;
Let our little ones grow up in the nurture and admonition of thee.
Keep the single brethren and sisters chaste, both in body and in spirit;
Remain the hope of our widows.[38]

The collection of liturgical hymns in use at the time of Zinzendorf's death, *Liturgische Gesaenge der Brueder-gemeinden,* includes special liturgies for married men and women. From one of these as given in the edition of 1773 we quote the following lines relating to children:

Be merciful to thy congregation of married folks (Ehegemein);
And to their children large and small; . . .
Hear us and sanctify all the fathers and mothers here;
Bless their work of child-nurture and let them bear fruit in their children;
Assist them daily through thy Spirit in their work of training;
And present the children in thy Merit to the Father.[39]

No higher honor can come to man or woman than to be privileged to bring into the world another "created eternal being, member of the body of Christ," and to supplement the (prenatal and continuing) work of the Holy Spirit by means of parental care and training, until the child so born and nurtured "grows up to be an asset to the congregation," and in his own right an heir to the eternal joy of the Lord.[40] The Christian family exists "for the sake of the children . . . and for the perpetuation of the fellowship of believers through them."[41]

Such a family in reality constitutes "a miniature congregation" within which children are intrusted to the fostering care of their parents "until they are able to share in the services of

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[38] *Ibid.*, p. 79.

[39] *Litaneyen fuer die verheiratheten Brueder und Schwestern* in den Bruedergemeinen, pp. 10 and 14 in above mentioned Liturgische Gesange, edition of 1773.

[40] *Niesk Archiv.* N.B. II R 1, 25.

[41] *Aplg. Schft.*, p. 608f; *Hht. Arhv.*, R2A33C3S 25f, Conference Records at Herrnhut.

the church."[42] Children are to be regarded as an "honor and a source of joy to the parents, as precious hostages of grace." They are to be dealt with as princes and as "persons upon whom depends the future hope of better days who shall establish the purpose of God more fully than it is possible for us who are still working with materials in the rough."[43] Where conditions permit the realization of this ideal it is essential that there be regular "family devotions, morning and evening prayer, and grace at meals especially for the sake of the children in order that they may observe and profit by the parental example of daily communion with the Saviour."[44] In such a home the child is given at least a fair start toward the normal unfolding and enrichment of his religious life.

For the success of home training, special responsibility will devolve upon the mother: "As long as a child remains in the mother's hands she must watch over it more than over a costly treasure."[45] When the child has passed out from under the mother's care her responsibility ceases. Such a mother, however, will find great comfort of heart, if, when her child is turned over to the congregation, she is able to say: "Thus far I have safeguarded this child. I know that he belongs to the Saviour. His heart has received grace. Until now I have faithfully kept the covenant. Now I give him to you, that you also may prove faithful to the trust."[46]

In this home training parental example is fundamental. The avoidance of evil example is first of all of the utmost importance. Children must "observe in their parents no unbecoming behavior on account of which they might excuse their own misconduct with the words, 'I saw my parents do this.' "[47] Such parental misconduct makes a deep and lasting impression upon children whom it provides with an excuse for their own misdoing. But the avoidance of wrong example is not enough. A positive example

[42] *J. H. D.*, July 18, 1751. From an address to the choir of married persons. Cf. *Ibid.*, September 11, 1756.

[43] *Penn. Red.*, II, p. 130. From an address of Zinzendorf at a wedding ceremony in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, April 12, 1742.

[44] *Hht. Arhv.*, XIX, 24. *Sp. Schft.*, p. 330. [45] *Red. Ev.*, p. 120.

[46] *Ibid.* [47] *Ibid.*, p. 728.

worthy of being imitated is required. Parents are to manifest before the children the qualities of sincerity, serious-mindedness, and uprightness in all the personal contacts and relationships. This is brought out clearly in the "Brief Essay on Christian Nurture," preserved in the little volume, *Sonderbare Gespraeche*.[48] In the same essay we are told that toward children and in their presence parents are to be not childish or foolish but childlike; not frivolous but friendly and cheerful; not sentimental but loving and cordial; not absent-minded but alert; not deceiving but truthful; not autocratic and menacing but sympathetic and firm; making no false promises or threats but keeping faith with the child always.[49] Punishment is not to be administered to children without "their being first convinced of wrongdoing; such unexplained punishment would have evil consequences, since children as well as adults have consciences."[50]

Recognizing the importance of the physical well-being of the child for character formation, Zinzendorf pleads for regularity of habits in eating and drinking, sleeping and physical exercise; and for cleanliness and orderliness in all things. Discipline should be positive. When punishment is necessary it should be administered promptly but with reasonableness and without irritation. Only acts involving willful disobedience to known requirements deserve punishment.[51] The nurture and discipline of the home is in all cases to be conducted in the fear of God and the consciousness of his presence. Children also are to conduct themselves with this in mind. His pleasure and good will with regard to them are to determine their conduct, under parental guidance. Their religious response cannot be forced, but must be the natural outcome of the spiritual environment and stimulation of their daily lives. Children are not to be forced to the Christian life but lovingly drawn. "Our conduct, our love for the Saviour, our fidelity in all things great and small, our descrip-

[48] *Kurtzer Aufsatz*, in *Sond. Gesp.*, p. 95f.

[49] *Ibid.* The essay is quoted in full in the Appendix.

[50] *Hht. Arhv.*, R2A4, 1S57. From an address at Marienborn, December 13, 1740.

[51] *Kurtzer Aufsatz*, in *Sond. Gesp.*, p. 96f.

tion of the Saviour and his attitude toward us, what he has done for us, what he would like to give us—these things must draw them."[52]

Children should be encouraged in the religious life. Family worship, the singing of appropriate hymns, prayer and thanksgiving are to characterize the spirit of the home. But definite religious instruction also is to be added as may be needed. "The importance of Christian discipleship, the beauty of His character, His humility, His poverty, the lightness of His cross are to be explained explicitly, lovingly and in simple language."[53] Bodily ills resulting from sickness and accidents or other adverse circumstances, however, are not to be explained to the children as part of the cross of Christ.

As soon as children reach a suitable age of understanding, they are to be instructed in the Christian faith, especially with regard to man's sinfulness and his redemption through Christ. In giving such instruction care is to be taken in order that children be not given "words without power or knowledge without experience."[54] The report of the Parliamentary Committee in 1749 recommending permission to the Moravians to settle in the American colonies contains a brief statement regarding parental instruction of children in religion, which because of its summary character and its inclusion in this historically important document we quote in full:

> In our own settlements the parents, being deeply penetrated with the consequences of getting and educating children, prefer the thought concerning it to all others, not excepting those necessary for maintaining their very economy. They manage all offices and performances belonging to this duty with the best of the faculties and capacity; no-ways different even from what is called the decency of religious worship.
>
> As the endowing their children with those good manners, which immediately derive from the heart, is not theirs, but the Holy Ghost's province; the keeping of their eyes, ears, and thoughts from the least influence to the opposite way is the continual concern of the parents, not to be dispensed with at any rate. As the parents are very careful on their side, so the children accept of it cheer-

[52] *Kurtzer Aufsatz*, in *Sond. Gesp.*, p. 96f. [53] *Ibid.*, p. 97f. [54] *Ibid.*

fully; and, by that means, they are regularly exposed to none but that sort of danger which their own frailty, or, rather, natural sinfulness, may occasion.

Now as they are very uneasy upon observing any suchlike things, and naturally inclined to lay open all their thoughts and experiences; that very misery procures the parents and their associates the fairest occasion to acquaint them with the happy remedies the mystery of the Gospel affords the human weakness and wretchedness; which was the thing that made them study the Scripture, far from an idle curiosity, out of a mere eagerness after their speedy recovery for the present and safety for the future.

The specific they are presented with is the Saviour of mankind in person, after the most exact resemblance to be found of him in his holy records called the Bible.

The utmost pitch of a tender familiarity, together with an awful deference toward that amiable object, being the common end the parents and their children aim at; faith, love, heavenly-mindedness, and civil honesty are not interrupted by the growing up of the latter; but heightened by degrees, till either they are recalled early to the presence of their Creator or themselves appointed to serve his will for some time upon earth in their turn.[55]

This ideal of religious instruction in the Christian family was not realized to the satisfaction of Zinzendorf in the Moravian community at Herrnhut. This failure was due partly to the natural limitations and lack of previous experience and training of the refugee population.[56] Other contributing factors were the preoccupation of parents engaged in earning a livelihood or in full-time service for the congregation.[57] To what extent these influences modified the practice of early home training in religion and brought about the substitution of institutional training even from early childhood will be pointed out in the following section. It remains to be noted here that Zinzendorf never lost sight of the ideal of early home training even during all the changes in actual practice made in response to obvious community needs or due to the changes and development in Zinzendorf's own theory of religious education. On June 11, 1751, in an address to the choir of married persons he expresses sincere regrets that "because of official or trade responsibilities or on account of other

[55] *Acta Frat. Unit. in Ang.* MDCCXLIX, p. 101f.

[56] *Cranz. Br. Hist.*, I, p. 137. [57] *Ibid.*, p. 158.

circumstances" some parents are unable to give their children the needed home training and must therefore "use the advantages offered by the congregation." Continuing, he says, "I hope, however, that the time may soon come that all parents may train their own children."[58] Two years later, in 1753, in a synod discussion at London, he urges all families of the congregation contemplating the building of homes to plan definitely for a Christian family life which will make possible the ideal church in the home with the proper religious training of children.[59] At a special conference in October, 1758, dealing with the training of children, Zinzendorf again states his oft-repeated conviction that parental training is the natural method as compared with institutional training which is artificial. "The segregation of children in institutions for religious nurture and training (from infancy) as practiced in the congregation is really an abnormal arrangement and a mark of disgrace for the congregation, since it furnishes the clear evidence that parents have not the disposition or the ability to train their children for the Saviour."[60]

Religious Education in Schools and Orphanages

In considering the work of religious education as conducted in early Moravian schools and orphanages, several groups of institutions with distinct lines of development should be kept clearly in mind. Just as the fortunate early childhood experience of Zinzendorf predisposed him to regard the Christian home as ideally the first and most important religious educational institution, so his adolescent training at Halle,[61] and the actual conditions with which he was later confronted at Herrnhut, influenced him to adopt a program of institutionalized nurture and training even for little children.[62] The orphanages, boarding schools, and training schools for religious workers at Herrnhut

[58] *J. H. D.*, June 11, 1751.

[59] *J. H. D.*, August 3, 1753.

[60] *Ibid.*, October 11, 1758.

[61] From his tenth to his sixteenth year Zinzendorf attended the Adels Paedagogium at Halle. During part of that time he took his meals in the home of the Rektor August Herman Francke. *Sp. Z. L.*, p. 35f.

[62] Not consistently carried out until after 1744, and then for a short period only.

and in other Moravian communities were modeled after similar institutions at Halle.[63] In the course of their development, however, these institutions from the first were influenced by the peculiar needs of the growing refugee community, the organized Unity of the Brethren, and also by the changing educational views of Zinzendorf. These modifying influences extended especially to those institutions which served the Unity of the Brethren as a whole and which for this reason were directly under Zinzendorf's own immediate influence and direction. The local institutions that served rather the needs of individual Moravian communities were least affected.[64] This discussion concerns itself with those institutions only that came under the more immediate influence of Zinzendorf and the educational activities of which therefore reflect his developing theory and practice.[65] In the order of their founding, the institutions deserving notice in this study include those listed and discussed in the following paragraphs:

In 1723 Zinzendorf, with the encouragement of his grandmother, the Countess of Gersdorff, in whose home he had spent his early childhood, founded (1) a *Day School* for poor children at Bertelsdorf,[66] the village adjoining Herrnhut, and belonging to the grandmother's estate. Later in the same year Zinzendorf purchased this estate from his grandmother, assuming respon-

[63] The Minutes of the Workers Conference at Herrnhut, July, 1727, record that all the institutions at Herrnhut (Sæmmtliche Anstalten) were modeled after those of Spener, Francke, and others.

[64] Many of the congregations established orphanages in the sense of educational institutions for boys and girls. Practically all of them built choir-houses.

[65] The fullest and best account of early Moravian institutions based on manuscript sources preserved at Herrnhut is found in Uttendoerfer's, *Das Erziehungwesen Zinzendorf's und der Bruedergemeine in seinen Amfaengen*, in *M. G. P.*, Vol. 51, pp. 21–141. Except as otherwise indicated, the manuscript sources referred to by Uttendoerfer and cited in this discussion have been verified by the writer at Herrnhut with the generous assistance of Uttendoerfer himself and the Archive authorities. Uttendoerfer's account carries the history of these institutions only up to the time of Zinzendorf's banishment from Saxony in 1737, following which the center of educational activities shifted to Wetteravia in western Germany. This change of base involved also the transfer of some of the educational institutions which had been started at Herrnhut.

[66] *Uttendoerfer, Erz. Zs.*, in *M. G. P.*, Vol. 51, p. 24. Cf. *Sp. Z. L.*, p. 318f.

sibility for the school. At the same time he himself, with the co-operation of a group of friends, established a (2) *Girls' Dormitory and School* (Stift), also at Bertelsdorf.[67]

In 1724 this same group of friends, under Zinzendorf's leadership, established an (3) *Adels-Paedagogium*[68] modeled directly on the lines of the similar institution at Halle.[69] This Paedagogium was discontinued in 1727 because Francke had expressed a fear regarding its effect upon the prosperity of the mother-institution at Halle.[70]

The same year (1727) witnessed the establishment of the (4) *Herrnhut Orphanage,*[71] actually an orphanage and boarding school for boys and girls. This institution was housed in the building erected for the Paedagogium. The Girls' School established in 1723 was included as part of the orphanage institution, although without losing altogether its separate identity.[72] In 1735 a (5) *Latin School*[73] was organized at Herrnhut. This was in the nature of an annex (Fluegel anstalt) to the orphanage intended for the advance education of sons of the gentry and promising pupils from the orphanage. Following Zinzendorf's banishment from Saxony (1737) the Herrnhut Latin School was superseded by the new school at Herrnhaag (1739). Sixteen years later, in 1754, this institution was again removed from Herrnhaag to Hennersdorf,[74] near Herrnhut. In 1736 (6) *Orphanages for boys and girls* were established at Herrnhaag in Wetteravia.[75] With the transfer of Zinzendorf's activities from Herrnhut to Wetteravia, these institutions took the place of orphanages at Herrnhut in relation to the Unity of the Brethren as a whole.[76] The Herrnhut Orphanage after 1738 became

[67] *Uttendoerfer, Erz. Zs.* in *M. G. P.*, Vol. 51, p. 24. Cf. *Sp. Z. L.*, p. 318f.

[68] *Sp. Z. L.*, p. 318. *Gesch. der verb. 4 Brdr.*, in *Uttendoerfer, Erz. Zs.*, p. 26f.

[69] *Ibid.*

[70] Francke died in this same year 1727, which fact made this considerate action on Zinzendorf's part the more appropriate. Cf. *Anfg. Hhts.*, p. 222; *Sp. Z. L.*,p. 427.

[71] *Sp. Z. L.*, p. 427. [72] *Ibid.*, p. 39. [73] *Ibid.*, p. 47f., and pp. 90–97.

[74] *Uttendoerfer, Zinzendorf und die Jugend*, p. 14. [75] *Ibid.*, p. 13.

[76] The corresponding institutions at Herrnhut were not abandoned, however, until 1746, and then only to be re-established with the return of Zinzendorf to Saxony the following year 1747.

a purely local institution. Following his return to Saxony in 1747 the Herrnhaag institutions were again transferred to Hennersdorf, near Herrnhut.

In 1739 a (7) *Paedagogium*[77] reappeared, in connection with a (8) *Theological Seminary*,[78] and a Latin School at Herrnhaag, all established in the same year. When the Latin School was transferred to Hennersdorf in 1754, the Paedagogium and Seminary were transferred to Barby.[79] A further development within the Orphanage at Herrnhaag occurred in 1744 in the nature of (9) *Congregational Institutes* (Gemeinde-Anstalten)[80] for the special training of children of Christian parents. It was the hope of Zinzendorf that by means of this further segregation of the children there might be developed a group of extraordinary religious leaders.[81] In 1751 the congregational Institute for boys was transferred as part of the Orphanage organization to Hennersdorf;[82] but in 1753 we find it housed in a separate building at Niesky.[83] Following the death of Zinzendorf in 1760 Niesky became the center for all institutions for boys over twelve years of age.[84] Results as far as the boys' institution was concerned, however, were disappointing and the Institution was abandoned in 1756.[85] In the case of the girls the segregation of daughters of the congregation from others was never strictly observed, whereas better results seem to have been achieved than in the case of the stricter segregation of boys.[86] Another institution dating from 1744 was (10) the *Nursery for Little Children* of full-time religious workers and Moravian missionaries in foreign lands (Pilger-Kinder-Haus).[87] This was started in Marienborn, was transferred in 1746 to Lindheim, and in 1752 to Lausitz.[88]

On May 21, 1747, at Herrnhaag a conference of workers considered problems arising from the rapid growth of the orphanage and schools (Kinder Anstalten), and more especially the question of whether any more children should be received from outside the congregation. The conclusion is recorded:

[77] Compare p. 150. [78] *Uttendoerfer, Zinzendorf und die Jugend*, p. 13.

[79] *Ibid.*, p. 14. [80] Separate organizations for boys and girls.

[81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88] *Uttendoerfer, Zinzendorf und die Jugend*, p. 13ff.

For lack of room, it will not be possible for the present to receive any children from the outside. It should be widely published that, for several years, it will not be possible to entertain such applications. . . . In the "Gemein-Kinder-Anstalten" no children shall be received not born in the congregations.[89]

In accordance with this decision a general "Avertissement" was inserted in the *Frankfurter Privilegirter Reichs Journal,* announcing that no more outside children would be received in the Moravian institutions, and warning parents living at a distance not to incur the trouble and expense of sending or bringing their children with the expectation that an exception would be made.[90]

For the purposes of this study the establishment of the Day School for poor children at Bertelsdorf[91] in 1723 has significance chiefly because it emphasizes the deep concern of young Zinzendorf for the proper education and especially for the religious education of all children living on or near his estate. For this new enterprise his grandmother contributed a number of scholarships to supply the tuition and textbooks for destitute children. Active support was likewise received by Zinzendorf from his intimate friend, the newly appointed village pastor, Rothe, whom he himself had selected for the Bertelsdorf parish.[92] The school opened with eighty children in charge of an unnamed schoolmaster, who proved "not to have any insight or inclination regarding the work of the Lord in the human heart." This man was promptly discharged and the children intrusted to one, Krumpe, who was more deeply interested in their spiritual welfare. The work of Krumpe "was greatly blessed of God," and in 1728 the number of children attending had reached one hundred and thirty, including practically the total masculine school population of the village.[93] The establishment of the separate Girls' School in the same year was undertaken, according to Zinzendorf, "because

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[89] *J. H. D.*, May 21, 1747.

[90] Issue of July 21, 1747. The notice is dated Herrnhaag, June 12. Reprinted as a single two page leaflet, a copy of which I obtained at Herrnhut.

[91] Compare p. 143; also *Sp. Z. L.*, p. 318.

[92] J. A. Rothe; Cf. *Sp. Z. L.*, pp. 214, 249; *Cranz. Br. Hist.*, p. 115f.

[93] *Hht. Arhv.*, R6Ab82 in *Uttendoerfer, Erz. Zs.*, p. 24.

the proper education of girls requires women teachers, and a method different from that suitable with boys."[94] This school was placed under the supervision of Johanna v. Zezschwitz, an active member of the inner circle of Zinzendorf's "Hausekklesiola."[95]

The short-lived Adels-Paedagogium, founded in 1724 and discontinued in 1727, was, as already indicated,[96] modeled directly on the similar institution at Halle in which Zinzendorf himself had been a pupil.[97] The Paedagogium at Halle, founded in 1695, in 1727 had an enrollment of eighty-two. The Paedagogium at Herrnhut in the same year, three years after its founding, had an enrollment of twelve students. No records are extant describing the curriculum and teaching methods of the Herrnhut Paedagogium. That the educational work was well done is suggested by the fact that several of the students were admitted to universities the following year, 1728. If the curriculum and teaching methods followed the pattern of the Paedagogium at Halle, which, under the circumstances, is altogether probable, then we have a fairly accurate description of the educational activities of this institution in the school ordinances of Halle dating from 1702 and which were in operation during Zinzendorf's attendance at Halle, 1710–1716, and during the brief period of the existence of the Paedagogium at Herrnhut. From these regulations and from Francke's own treatise on education we learn that religion was the chief study in the Paedagogium.[98] Greek

[94] *Sp. Z. L.*, p. 318.

[95] A group of like-minded persons banded together with Zinzendorf for the avowed purpose of their mutual spiritual encouragement and for the purpose of laboring together in the work of evangelism and religious education. The "Hausekklesiola" had in turn been founded by the "Verbundennen Vier Brueder," a close organization of kindred spirits including Zinzendorf, his boyhood friend and schoolmate Frederick v. Watteville, and Pastors Rothe of Bertelsdorf and Scheffer of Goerlitz. The members of this organization were pledged to spread the gospel by means of personal example, preaching, writing, and publishing religious literature and the founding of institutions for the religious teaching of children. Cf. *Sp. Z. L.*, pp. 444–447; *Cranz. Br. Hist.*, p. 124.

[96] P. 144.

[97] *Sp. Z. L.*, p. 39.

[98] *Schul Ordnungen der Frankische Stiftungen 1702, in Vorbaum, Evangelische Schul Ordnungen*, III, pp. 1–116; also Francke's *Brief and Simple Treatise on Christian Nurture.*

and Hebrew were taught largely for the sake of exegesis. Compositions were in Latin, chiefly on biblical subjects. French was taught by means of the French New Testament. Formal religious instruction was based on Luther's *Shorter Catechism,* of which Spener had prepared an edition with many supplementary questions and answers, the answers being uniformly in words of the Scriptures.[99] For purposes of Scripture memorization the school ordinances recommended the biblical selection contained in Gerhard's *Geistliches Kleinod.* They gave the following directions to teachers for their guidance in the catechetical method of instruction of the lower classes of the Paedagogium:

If the text be "Let us love God because he first loved us," one shall question:

Q. Who shall love God?
A. We.
Q. Whom shall we love?
A. God.
Q. What shall we do toward God?
A. We shall love him.
Q. Why shall we love him?
A. Because he first loved us. Etc.

Then a brief application shall be made of the text, as, for example: Will you then also love God? Why will you love him? Has he, then, loved you also? Etc. After thus explaining a verse it is to be repeated from memory by the pupil.[100]

The Paedagogium established in 1739 in connection with the Latin School at Herrnhaag[101] and which was later transferred to Barby became firmly established and had a creditable history. It belongs, however, to the later period of Zinzendorf's pedagogical activities and did not follow closely the traditions of Halle. With the other permanent institutions, it shared the inner organization of its religious life on the basis of Zinzendorf's grouping of the entire congregational community into bands, classes, and choirs, for purposes of fostering religious experience. These religious educational groupings are considered in a subsequent section of this discussion.

[99] This was one of many so-called "Spruch-Catechismi" in which each section of Luther's catechism was supplied with supplementary and proof texts.

[100] *Vorbaum, Ev. Sch. Ordgn.*, III, as above. [101] Cf. 144, 150.

The Orphanage established at Herrnhut, 1727,[102] as a boarding school for orphans and other children was favored in its initial development by the discontinuance of the Paedagogium. Not only was the Orphanage established in the new building constructed for the Paedagogium, but the elimination for the time being of the latter made it possible for Zinzendorf and his immediate co-workers to concentrate their attention and religious educational efforts on the Orphanage. Thus from the first the Orphanage became an experimental center of the utmost importance for the development of Zinzendorf's theory and method of Christian nurture and training. From the beginning, Zinzendorf was not in favor of an orphanage of the Pietistic or Halle type,[103] in which all sorts of children were welcomed regardless of their parentage and previous religious training. Zinzendorf's prepference was for an institution exclusively for children of the congregation, and in the end he succeeded in carrying through his own idea on this point.[104] At first, however, he yielded to the united judgment of Watteville, Rothe, and Scheffer, supported by the elders of the congregation, and opened the doors of the new institution to all who applied. The institution, in reality, grew out of the peculiar needs of the Herrnhut congregation, and from its inception was conducted with reference to those needs.

The conflicting interests and opinions of the strangely mixed population of Moravian exiles and other religious refugees were suddenly reconciled and profoundly unified by a sweeping religious revival that came upon the congregation and community, including both Herrnhut and the adjoining Bertelsdorf in August, 1727.[105] Even the children of both communities were affected, including the pupils in the *Day* School and in the Girls' School.

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[102] Separate organizations for boys and girls although housed under the same roof.

[103] *Sy. Z. L.*, p. 247; *Ibid.*, 431, 432.

[104] On July 21, 1747, Zinzendorf inserted a notice in the Reichs Journal of Frankfurt announcing that no more children of outsiders will be admitted to the Herrnhaag Orphanage. Cf. Reprint in leaflet form in author's possession and at Herrnhut and Bethlehem.

[105] *Sp. Z. L.*, pp. 427f.

It was in the spirit of this revival that the Orphanage was established for the purposes of the better religious supervision and training of children. The girls of the Bertelsdorf school, with other girls from Herrnhut, were housed in one part of the commodious building of the abandoned Paedagogium, while the boys for whose enrollment application was made found quarters in another part of the same building. The revival experience of the children, like that of the adults, was of an extremely emotional type involving a conversion experience. The first steps taken toward the conservation of the results of this revival were the same for children as for adults, both alike being organized into smaller groups (bands and classes), under adult supervision, for the further cultivation of the religious life.[106] The first teachers for the Orphanage were selected from the groups of unmarried young women for the girls and unmarried young men for the boys, all being members of the congregation.[107] The institution as a whole was presided over by a resident married couple. At first these staff members were all plain folks, mostly industrial workers who gave their services without compensation and devoted part of their time to earning a living.[108] The educational program, therefore, involved a minimum of formal instruction, this being limited to teaching of reading, writing, simple arithmetic, singing, and religion. Later, in 1735, when the number of pupils paying tuition had increased because of the influx of children from well-to-do families at a distance, the educational facilities were increased, a Latin school being added for the accommodation of the advanced pupils.[109] The teaching staff at this time was recruited from among the clergymen who had joined the Unity of the Brethren and moved to Herrnhut.[110] Among these were August Gottlieb Spangenberg, the most influential of Zinzendorf's early educational co-workers, and Matthias

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[106] August 17, the day on which the revival broke out among the children, has ever since been observed in Moravian churches as special festal day of joy and thanksgiving for children.

[107] *Sp. Z. L.*, pp. 42f.

[108] *Uttendoerfer, Erz. Zs.*, pp. 113, 114.

[109] The Annex of "Fleugelanstalt." Cf. pp. 90 and 93.

[110] *Uttendoerfer, Erz. Zs.*

Just, likewise an able teacher and administrator. Both Spangenberg and Just spent the later years of their lives in Moravian educational institutions in Pennsylvania, whither Spangenberg had accompanied Zinzendorf in 1742–3.[111] As early as 1733 we find the children of the Orphanage, both boys and girls, divided into three classes. The youngest group, ages three to five, were given instruction during five class periods each day; the intermediate group, ages six to ten, had six hours of instruction, while the older group, ages eleven to fifteen, most of whom were already employed at home during part of the day, received only three hours of formal instruction. In 1736 the recitation schedule submitted by the Orphanage authorities to the governmental commission of investigation was as follows:[112]

Time	Oldest (11-15)	Middle (6-10)	Youngest (3-5)
7-8	Religion 6 hrs.	Religion 6 hrs.	Religion 6 hrs.
8-9	Religion 6 hrs.	Religion 6 hrs.	Religion 6 hrs.
10-11	Reading (Bible) 6 hrs.	Reading (Bible) 6 hrs.	Spelling and Reading 6 hrs.
11-12	Writing 6 hrs.		
		Reading (Bible) 6 hrs.	
2-3		Writing 4 hrs.	Spelling and Reading 4 hrs.
3-4	Arithmetic and Writing 4 hrs.		Writing 4 hrs
Total	28 hrs.	28 hrs.	26 hrs.

According to this schedule, the older children had twelve hours of instruction in religion per week, six of instruction in reading, eight in writing and two in arithmetic. The second class had twelve hours of religion, twelve hours of reading, four hours of writing, with no mathematics. The third class (ages 3-5) had twelve hours of religion, ten hours of reading, four hours of writing. The curriculum requirements for girls for the same year, 1763, indicate that girls, both young and old, had six hours of religious instruction, including the singing of hymns and carols, four hours of reading, four hours of writing, or a total

[111] *Hht. Arhv.*, R4BVa No. 1, in *Uttendoerfer, Erz. Zs.*, p. 46f.

[112] *Hht. Arhv.*, R4BVa No. 1, in *Uttendoerfer, Erz. Zs.*, p. 79.

of sixteen hours per week of formal instruction. On the whole, the curriculum requirements for both boys and girls were not rigid. In 1735 mention is made of girls' classes in arithmetic and French.[113] Singing was an important factor both in connection with the stated hours of religious instruction and in the devotional and special musical services at other hours of the day.[114] Individual promotion, according to the system of Francke, permitted each pupil to advance in each subject as he was able. As a result much of the instruction was individual. In 1738, just following Zinzendorf's departure from Saxony, the Orphanage at Herrnhut had an enrollment of one hundred and thirty-one children,[115] forty of whom paid tuition. During all the years up to this time the expenses of the institution were a heavy drain upon the financial resources of Zinzendorf and his immediate helpers. This fact kept the material equipment of the institution at a minimum.

Religious instruction in the Orphanage was chiefly of a devotional character, the purpose being the stimulation and enrichment of an emotional religious experience. According to Zinzendorf, experience must precede intellectual understanding. "From experience to comprehension" is the essential sequence.[116] At Herrnhut from 1727 to 1737 religious experience of children was still measured according to the Pietistic standard which grouped both adults and children into three distinct classes—the "dead," the "awakened," and the "converted"—and in this early period of the Orphanage the actual grouping of the children in the dormitories was largely on the basis of this grouping.[117] The devotional character of religious training allowed a large measure of liberty in the choice of subject matter. Formal catechetical instruction, according to Zinzendorf, was not suited to little children.[118] The actual instruction of the first or lowest grade in the Orphanage, therefore, consisted of a separate service of

[113] *Uttendoerfer, Erz. Zs.*, p. 80. [114] *Ibid.*

[115] Including 78 boys and 53 girls. *Hht. Arhv.*, R6Aa36D1, in *Uttendoerfer, Erz. Zs.*, p. 61.

[116] *Uttendoerfer, Erz. Zs.*, p. 82. [117] *Ibid.*, p. 146.

[118] *Hht. Arhv.*, R4BVaNr1.8. October 1733, in *Uttendoerfer, Erz. Zs.*, p. 83.

worship with this age group, including the singing of simple hymns and informal conversations on religious subjects. Sometimes, especially on Sunday morning, suitable Bible stories were added.[119] Special use of church hymns was made as a means of religious nurture. These hymns were explained and repeated until they became a personal possession and were a joy to the children. In the second and third classes formal instruction in the catechism was added, the interpretation and requirements of memorization differing according to the two age groups. For purposes of this instruction Zinzendorf's own Catechism of 1725 was used.[120] Instruction in reading in so far as it was from the Bible served as an opportunity for a running exposition of the text by the teachers, emphasis being placed on those incidents and passages that seemed to the teachers to be of importance for the age group under instruction. For the second class these reading exercises were exclusively from the New Testament. In the third or highest class they included both the New and the Old. The Scripture interpretations given were in harmony with the Pietistic conception of the Christian experience and life. With the older class the hymn book was sometimes used as a reading text with similar expositions of the subject matter.[121] The second governmental commission sent to Herrnhut found the pupils deficient in the memorization of the Catechism and ordered the substitution of Luther's *Shorter Catechism* without notes or comments for Zinzendorf's edition and the substitution of the Dresden *Hymnal* for the Moravian *Hymnal.* The commission also ordered the discharge of three of the instructors and recommended the banishment of Zinzendorf from Saxony. The change in the Catechism was cheerfully complied with on Zin-

[119] A favorite textbook of Bible narratives at this period was Huebner's Selected Bible Narratives from the Old and New Testaments, *Zweymahl Zwey und fuenffzig Auserlesene Biblische Historien aus dem Alten u. Neuen Testaments*, of which historically noteworthy text book, twelve editions appeared before 1785.

[120] *Gewisser Grund Christlicher Lehre*, 1725. This was Luther's Shorter Catechism with added explanatory questions and answers by Zinzendorf, the answers being uniformly in words of Scripture, classified as Spruch-Catechismus. Cf. Discussion, Chapter II, pp. 25–33.

[121] *Uttendoerfer, Erz. Zs.*, p. 85.

zendorf's own urging. In the matter of increased memorization and the substitution of the Dresden *Hymnal,* there seems to have been no improvement as late as 1738. Indeed, the amount of catechetical instruction decreased in these two years from a total of six hours per week to one hour.[122]

The *Latin School,* begun as an annex to the Orphanage at Herrnhut and continued after 1739 in the same relation to the Orphanage at Herrnhaag, was characterized by the predominantly religious spirit and purpose of the institution with which in each case it was connected. The purpose was not to make scholars or theologians,[123] but useful servants of the community.[124] At Herrnhut in 1736 the Curriculum presented to the Government Commission called for a weekly schedule including Latin, sixteen hours; Greek, six hours; Hebrew, three hours; French, four hours; Mathematics, six hours; History, six hours; Geography, three hours; Writing, four hours; total of forty-six hours.[125] This clearly represented a higher educational purpose than was achieved, for in 1737 the schedule had dwindled to thirty-four hours plus six hours of religion, six hours of handwork, and five hours of physical exercise.[126] In 1738, after Zinzendorf's departure, there was again an advance, which carried over to the new school established at Herrnhaag in 1739.[127] Nevertheless, the domination of the religious motive and objectives was pronounced. The study of the languages, French, Latin, Greek, and Hebrew, was based in large measure on the Bible text, time being taken for religious conversation and practical application of the passages read and studied.[128] The day's program began and ended with religious devotions. Special adult counselors resident in the dormitories were charged with the responsibility for the religious training of the students.[129] Hymns and the use of the *Hymnal* as a reading text[130] and participation in special religious

[122] *Hht. Arhv.*, R4BVaNr 5.10.12, in *Uttendoerfer, Erz. Zs.*, p. 86.
[123] *Hht. Arhv.*, R2A31S207f (1740).
[124] *Ibid.*, and R6Ab1 (1735).
[125] *Uttendoerfer, Erz. Zs.*, p. 94.
[126] *Ibid.*, p. 96.
[127] *Ibid.*, p. 97.
[128] *Uttendoerfer, Erz. Zs.*, p. 84.
[129] *Uttendoerfer, Erz. Zs.*, p. 94.
[130] *Ibid.*, p. 85.

services for young people were part of the daily life in the dormitory. Some of these older students, moreover, were assigned to be religious counselors (choir officers) for younger children.[131]

The educational influences and results of the Moravian orphanages and schools are not to be compared with those of the similar institutions at Halle. The importance of the institutions at Herrnhut and Herrnhaag lies rather in their relation to the development of Zinzendorf's religious educational method, in which he diverged more and more from the traditions and practice of the Pietistic schools at Halle. Under Francke's immediate successors, even more than during his lifetime, there was at Halle a rigid insistence upon conversion as the one approved method for obtaining the experience of salvation. This resulted in classifying even the children of the schools and orphanages into three distinct groups—the "dead," the "awakened," and the "converted." Progress in religious experience from one group to the other was not thought possible except by marked stages, including inner struggle and a keen sense of utter condemnation, followed by the joyous assurance of forgiveness. Without these no religious experience of peace and joy was considered genuine. Although a passing phase in the more genuinely vital and flexible program of historical Pietism, this rigid schematization of religious experience nevertheless became the point of departure at which and on account of which the Moravian movement under Zinzendorf broke away from the leadership of Halle. Zinzendorf rebelled against this forcing of the religious experience of all children into an inflexible adult mode of conversion. The recollection of his own happy childhood experience re-enforced his observations and experience with children in and out of orphanages, and with the children in his own home, until his own theory of the free development of the religious life of the individual from within, and his belief in the consequent possibility of preservation and normal spiritual growth from infancy, triumphed over the powerful influence of a prevailing theory and practice which in loyalty to the example of his Alma Mater he

[131] Compare p. 161.

had tolerated and repeatedly defended in the orphanage training of children at Herrnhut.

In the earlier consideration of child nature and nurture,[132] and in the discussion of home training[133] in religion, Zinzendorf's belief in the possibilities of "training up a child in the way he should go" from the beginning and without the necessity of a conversion experience has been clearly set forth. In the declaration and agreement[134] signed by all the male members of the Herrnhut congregation on August 12, 1729, we find equal recognition given to "preservation" and "conversion" as accepted ways of achieving a religious experience. "We do not acknowledge any one of our posterity as a brother or sister," says the agreement, "except either, he shall have been preserved in his baptismal covenant or have been born again through the word."[135] In 1730 Christian parents are charged with responsibility of so watching over their own children that in their case conversion will not be necessary.[136] In 1735 in writing to the king of Sweden he emphasizes the effort being made at Herrnhut to establish little ones in their religious life so that they may actually possess the religious experience "to achieve which Jesus commands adults that they shall again become as little children."[137] Following his return from North America in 1743, Zinzendorf forsook entirely the Halle traditions in his attitude toward the admission into the orphanages of children whose parents were not members of the congregation, and in his method of religious instruction. From this time forward only children of the congregation were admitted to the Orphanage at Herrnhaag, which thus became an institution of preservation rather than of rescue. The method of religious training at the same time became almost exclusively devotional and inspirational with decreasing requirements of memorization and catechetical instruction. Children, more-

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[132] Chapter III. [133] Compare pp. 131ff.

[134] The agreement was between Zinzendorf and Rothe and the Herrnhut congregation.

[135] *Extract aus dem Notariats-Instrument, so Anno 1729 in Herrnhuth errichtet worden*, in *Bd. Sam.*, pp. 3–23.

[136] *Bd. Sam.*, I, p. 50. [137] *Bd. Sam.*, p. 86.

over, were no longer grouped in the Halle method with reference to a conversion experience, but according to age and religious maturity. At this point the method of religious instruction developed in the Orphanage merges with that of the choir organization of the congregation, every child in the institution being at the same time a member of one or the other of the congregational choirs or religious age groups organized for purposes of religious nurture and training.

Organization of the Religious Community for Nurture and Training

By the organization of the religious community for purposes of worship and instruction is meant more than the establishment of schools and orphanages, in which at Herrnhut and elsewhere Zinzendorf followed in the main the patterns of similar institutions at Halle. These institutions occupy an important place in the educational work of Zinzendorf. They were not, however, original with Zinzendorf and are not a part of his distinctive contribution to religious-educational theory and practice.

That which was original with Zinzendorf was his more-or-less consistent application of the principles of free development and religious growth to the organization of the religious community for purposes of furthering the processes of religious development in the individual. In this organization he included not only the children and young people of school age, but little children of pre-school age in the home, parents as subjects of training for religious leadership in the home, persons of all ages considered as members of the congregation apart from their place in or out of school, older young people and adults, whether in training for religious leadership and service, or engaged in manual labor or other useful occupations.

Within the congregation the parents are as much the subjects of religious training as are their children. For purposes of such training they are members of an organized parental group, the Choir for Married Persons, with regular meetings for worship and instruction.[138] Their instruction deals with the

[138] *Besch. Hhts.*, p. 50f; *Sp. Z. L.*, III, p. 2,003.

Christian ideals of the married state, the obligations, privileges, and duties of parenthood and the proper conduct of a Christian home and right methods of home training of children.[139]

Group meetings for married people started as consultation hours in Zinzendorf's own home.[140] As such these early meetings were part of the result of the memorable revival at Herrnhut in the midsummer of 1727.[141] After several years of precarious existence of the refugee settlement, this revival welded these people into a stable, religious, social unit. This constructive result Zinzendorf sought to conserve by giving himself to personal and group conferences, at the same time encouraging the formation of smaller groups within the congregation into so-called bands or societies for purposes of closer fellowship and mutual encouragement.[142] The origin of the choir organizations was similar to that of the bands or societies. Their development, however, was more gradual and came in response to the need for graded religious instruction, especially with children. Following the great revival of 1727, in which both children and adults had participated, "something had to be done for the children. Some of the older girls held together. These constituted the first Choir for Older Girls."[143] Three years later, the Choir for Young (Unmarried) Women was organized, followed later in the same year by the Choir for Young (Unmarried) Men, and on September 7 (1730), by the Choir for Married Persons.[144]

In the diary record of the congregation at Herrnhut under date of December 31, 1734, occurs this explanatory note regarding the age group classification of children:

The classification of children by years has been made because we have observed that during each succeeding year of a person's life something transpires within that person. For this reason we

[139] *Besch. Hhts.* p. 50f; *Sp. Z. L.*, III, p. 2,003.

[140] *Besch. Hhts.*, p. 50; *Cranz. Br. Hist.*, I, p. 143.

[141] *Cranz. Br. Hist.*, I, p. 143; *Sp. Z. L.*, I, p. 426f.

[142] *Plitt, Gesch. Ern. Br. Unit.*, MS, II, Chap. XIII, Sec. 143. The designations were interchangeable, the term "societies" having partially superseded that of "bands" as a result of the governmental investigation of Herrnhut of 1737. *Summarischer Unterricht fuer Resiende Brueder*, paragraphs 217–221.

[143] *J. H. D.*, August 17, 1749. [144] *Ibid.*

have put together the children of approximately the same age and have appointed to each class its own special workers, without, however, abandoning on this account the association together of those who are awakened.[145]

The reference to the "association together of those who are awakened" reflects the earlier grouping which, in the beginning, had been copied from the practice at Halle and according to which both children and adults were divided into three groups: (1) the dead, those who were unconverted and unawakened; (2) the awakened; and (3) the converted.[146] For some time after the introduction of the choir organization both groupings were continued and overlapped. Gradually, however, Zinzendorf's own ideas became dominant and the age-group organization superseded the Pietistic classification altogether.[147]

The Choir System. The choir system according to Zinzendorf was not merely a convenient arrangement to secure order and sequence in religious teaching. It was particularly valuable because "it made possible the presentation of the truth in a more direct, clear, and definite manner when in the choir meetings only those of a particular age group (and degree of religious maturity) were present."[148] Several general descriptions of the choir system of organization have been preserved.[149] The number of individual choirs was changeable. According to the ideal which seems most frequently to have dominated Zinzendorf's thinking, eleven separate groupings were called for, including eight for children and young people, plus three for adults. The eight included the following:[150] (1) Choir of Infants in Arms, (2) Choir of Little Children, (3) Choir of Boys, (4) Choir of Girls, (5) Choir of Older Boys, (6) Choir of Older Girls, (7)

[145] *Herrnhut Diarium*, December 31, 1734. Preserved in the *Herrnhut Archives.*

[146] *Uttendoerfer, Erz. Zs.*, pp. 84, 146, 165, 228.

[147] *J. H. D.*, June 18, 1758.

[148] *Ibid.*, April 29, 1756; *Plitt, Gesch. Ern. Br. Unit.*, MS, II, Chap. XIII, Sec. 149.

[149] *Besch. Hhts.*, p. 126; Eventual Testament, *Bd. Sam.; Briefe ueber Herrnhut*, pp. 410–412; Zinzendorf's address to all the Choirs, London, March 25, 1752.

[150] Address to the Choir organizations, Westminster, March 25, 1752. *Hht. Arhv.*, R4CI Num. 2.

Choir of Young Men, (8) Choir of Young Women. To these were added for adults, (1) Choir of Married People, (2) Widows' Choir, (3) Widowers' Choir.

In actual practice the Choir for Boys was frequently merged with the Choir for Older Boys, and in a similar way the Choir for Girls with that for Older Girls. In 1747, at Herrnhaag, Zinzendorf had occasion in this manner to change the number and designation of the choirs.[151] On May 28, 1750, an entry in the *Juenger-Haus Diarium* records the very rapid spread of the choir system with a resulting misuse of this institution by outsiders. For this reason, says Zinzendorf, it is the greater miracle that so much has been accomplished by means of this institution.

The occasional reports from individual congregations incorporated in the Diary of the Pilgrim Congregation covering the years 1747 to 1760 and later, frequently give the membership of the congregation by age groups.[152] One such tabulation was reported by the congregation at Gnadenfry, under date of January, 1782.

At the close of the year 1781, the Congregation consists of

458	Married Persons	* 138	in	Gnadenfry	and	* 320	rural
32	Widowers	20	"	"	"	12	"
133	Widows	56	"	"	"	77	"
160	Young Men	126	"	"	"	34	"
305	Young Women	247	"	"	"	58	"
70	Boys	27	"	"	"	43	"
78	Girls	30	"	"	"	48	"
132	Little Boys	36	"	"	"	96	"
191	Little Girls	39	"	"	"	152	"

(* Approximately)

Total 1559 with 719 in town and 840 rural.

Zinzendorf regarded the choir organization as of central importance in the life and work of the Moravian congregations. To the assembled choirs at London he says:

It is this fellowship which makes of us a peculiar people among

[151] *J. H. D.*, August 12, 1747.

[152] Compare *Congregation Report from Gnadenfry*, Appendix I. Also *J. H. D.*, January 17, 1749.

Christians. Even though all our congregations as such should be destroyed, we would still possess in addition to the universal Christian fellowship of God's children the special bond of those who commune together in the unity of soul afforded by the Choir grouping.[153]

For all the choirs there were special festival days[154] and days of prayer and covenanting,[155] with addresses or homilies[156] suited to the condition and need of each and with special hymns and litanies.[157] In the present Moravian *Hymnal* as revised by the Provincial Synod, Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, 1920, the list of festivals still observed by the Moravian churches includes the following:[158]

DAYS OF PRAYER AND COVENANTING

March 25, Festival for all the Choirs.
April 30, For Widows.
May 4, For Unmarried Sisters.
June 4, For Older Girls.
July 9, For Older Boys.
August 17, For the Children.
August 29, For the Unmarried Brethren.
August 31, For Widowers.
September 7, For the Married Brethren and Sisters.

Under Zinzendorf's leadership the supervision of each choir was intrusted to elders of the congregation appointed for this purpose and known as "choir servants" or "ministers" (Chordiener). In reality they were leaders and teachers. As the size of the group demanded, assistants or helpers were appointed.[159] Beginning with the older boys and girls, these assistants, and in some cases the choir servants as well, were selected from the membership of the choir to which they were assigned. It is Zinzendorf's earnest concern that

[153] *J. H. D.*, May 28, 1750. [154] *Sp. Z. L.*, p. 1643; *Cranz. Br. Hist.*, p. 624.

[155] *Sp. Z. L.*, p. 1067.

[156] *Ibid.*, p. 477; *Cranz. Br. Hist.*, I, p. 624; *Kind. Red.*

[157] *Ibid.*, *Sp. Z. L.*, I, pp. 871, 2145.

[158] *Hymns and Liturgies of the Moravian Church* (Unitas Fratrum) published by authority of the Provincial Synod, Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, 1920. Immovable Festivals, p. 655.

[159] *Eventual Testament*, in *Bd. Sam.*, II, p. 274; *Brf. U. Hht.*, pp. 401–402.

all the choirs, from those of the oldest people, the elders of the congregations, down to those of the smallest children, shall each separately have access to the Saviour, who concerns Himself for each choir and class in particular.[160]

The duties of the appointed leaders and their assistants are those of the religious nurture and training of the choir members. They are to watch over the religious experience and growth of each individual person. This supervision extends likewise to all matters affecting the material and social welfare of the choir as an organized social unit within the religious community. For special instruction in Christian doctrine, as this is required in connection with the appropriate ages and choirs, the pastor of the congregation is responsible and usually gives such instruction himself.

The manner in which these choir organizations fit into the larger scheme of the congregation as a whole may be inferred from the following summary of the later administrative organization at Herrnhut and elsewhere:

All the choirs are under the supervision of the Conference of Elders of the community which constitutes the directorate of the congregation. This college is composed of the following persons: (1) The Congregational Assistant, who supervises and maintains the general plan of the congregation, both with respect to internal and external affairs. He is the person of first importance in the congregational directorate and its spokesman, and for this reason the key person of the entire organization. (2) The Pastor, who is responsible for doctrine and for administering the sacraments, as well as for the instruction of the youth in the Christian faith, and for the supervision of the schools. (3) The Choir Helpers, to whom falls the spiritual care (Seelenpflege) of the individual members of their respective choirs. (4) The Choir Servants, elders, to whom is intrusted the responsibility for the welfare of the entire congregation, as well as for that of each separate choir, with regard to both internal and external affairs. These persons constitute the Conference of Elders which directs the affairs of their congregation. They meet several times each week to consider matters of current importance. A monthly report is sent to the Conference of Elders of the Unity covering everything of importance that has transpired.[161]

[160] *Brf. U. Hht.*, p. 401.

[161] *Besch. Hht.*, p. 397–402.

Owing to the wide range in age and in the degree of maturity in religious experience found within a single choir, as well as because of the unwieldy size of the individual choir groups, these were again divided into classes. Zinzendorf attempted to follow the classification of older Pietism which placed the converted, awakened and unconverted into separate classes. This grouping, however, did not prove satisfactory in the case of children and was more or less arbitrary even in the case of adults. The experiment confirmed Zinzendorf in his conviction that, normally, religious experience comes by natural growth of the spirit in a religious environment. Gradually, therefore, the classes within the choirs for children and older boys assumed the character of grades or classes in the usual sense of the schoolroom. Thus, religious nurture and training became in actual practice more and more closely graded, according to the religious development of larger or smaller groups of individuals within each choir. Finally, the classification for all children from four to twenty years of age came to be actually a classification by years. This development in organization was achieved at Herrnhut as early as 1734, there being at that time seventeen classes, covering the ages of four to twenty inclusive.[162]

Zinzendorf was interested in the details of practice as well as in theory. Heavy as were his other responsibilities, he did not permit them to prevent his testing out his theories in actual practice. This will be evident further from a consideration of the practice within the separate choirs.

The Choir for Infants in Arms. The first of these choirs is that for Infants in Arms, corresponding to the modern Cradle Roll. For these little ones religious nurture and training take the form of a protecting and stimulating environment, from which all evil influences are kept distant, and in which the religious spirit of the home stimulates a normal, childlike response through participation in the worship and service activities of the home. In the church or other suitable meeting place these little ones are assembled for brief services in which appropriate hymns are sung with the mothers, and in connection with which

[162] *Hht. Diarium*, December 31, 1734.

instruction is given to the mothers for the further religious training of their smallest children.

From Zinzendorf's diary it appears that the first of these services for the youngest children was held at Herrnhut, February 11, 1731.[163] For more than a year thereafter Zinzendorf himself either supervised or actually conducted these services. In December, 1732, he turned them over to an assistant. In 1733 Martin Dober refers to this group of Infants in Arms as receiving careful attention, and then continues:

> Each Sunday the mothers come with their children to one of the choir helpers or to the director of the orphanage, who, in a sympathetic and cordial manner, engages with them in singing, prayer, and in conversation suited to their comprehension, and thus leads them gently to an acquaintanceship with Jesus, which has thus far made a deep impression upon them.[164]

Still later Spangenberg refers to Zinzendorf's continued personal participation in the services of this group and emphasizes especially the fact that the mothers were instructed regarding the care of their children and exhorted not to mistrain them.

Children's Choir. What is thus begun with the Children in Arms is continued in the same spirit with the next older group, referred to sometimes as the Choir for Little Children (Knaeblein und Maegdlein), and sometimes simply as the Children's Choir (Kinderchor). This choir, says Zinzendorf,[165]

> consists of those persons to whom we refer collectively as children. It is unnecessary and might be harmful to speak to them of external differences existing between them as individuals or to endeavor to make clear to them the thought of any differentiated method in their individual preservation. Such distinctions are not appropriate for little children. The characteristic of a little child protected in its innocence and not led astray is that it is a child—which in itself is a good definition—and that it does not concern itself about any matters except its present little circumstances day by day.
>
> Hence little children of both sexes may to their advantage be kept together. It is always a pity, for example, if little boys must be removed from a children's nursery because of a certain liveliness

[163] *Hht. Arhv.*, R6Ab10, 2, in *Uttendoerfer, Erz. Zs.*, p. 187. [164] *Ibid.*
[165] London, March 25, 1752. *Hht. Arhv.*, R4CI No. 2.

(boisterousness) which distinguishes them from little girls. So long as both boys and girls under the wise direction of their teachers, although in accordance with their respective temperaments, are safeguarded together, it is beautiful. It is a blessing and a legitimization of their status as children.

Nor is it possible to determine the age limits of early childhood. These must be determined according to the best judgment of the teacher in accordance with his observation of the individual child. Self-conscious, awkward, impatient behavior on the part of a boy or a girl is an indication that the time has come for his or her removal to the next group. Sometimes this time comes as early as the sixth or even the fifth year of age.

The Children's Choir is assembled as a separate group for worship and instruction. The children are told simple stories concerning the Saviour, who is the Friend, the Protector, and the Helper of little children.[166] They have their own services of song and their periods of simple expressional activity, which consists partly in retelling stories and partly in testimonies from childhood experiences. Prayers are taught them and a simple but independent religious life is cultivated.

Since the individuals constituting the Children's Choir are of school age, they receive special instruction in religion as a part of their regular school program. The lesson plan in force in Herrnhut in 1736 indicates that the first two school periods, from seven to nine o'clock of each day, were devoted to the religious instruction of all children up to fifteen years of age, which marked the close of the common-school period.[167] In harmony with the general Pietistic ideals underlying the whole educational and religious program of Zinzendorf, the religious instruction in the schoolroom, like that of the choir services, was of a devotional rather than an informational character. In conformity to the state-church requirements, Luther's smaller catechism and the Bible were made the basis of the intellectual requirements in religious instruction. Each period of religious instruction was begun and ended with a devotional service suited to the needs of the group and circumstances of the hour. The singing of hymns,

[166] *J. H. D.*, January 11, 1751.

[167] Compare p. 151.

the offering of prayer, together with informal conversation regarding the meaning of Bible passages and hymns and regarding the problems and joys of religious experience, were normal parts of the daily exercise.[168] In harmony with the general flexibility of the school program as a whole, pupils were permitted to advance as rapidly as possible in the various subjects of instruction. Consequently, individual pupils frequently recited with two or more different classes in as many different subjects.[169] Instruction was thus to a great extent individual, as in the case of a well-regulated ungraded rural public school of the present day. This flexibility permitted either the slower or the more rapid advance of each individual pupil in his mastery of the subject matter of religious instruction and thus fitted into the scheme of class organization within the choir group as a whole.

The method of the more intensive cultivation of the religious life by means of choir and class sessions and meetings of various kinds was subject to frequent change.[170] This was due in part to the general flexibility of organization observed throughout in the early Moravian institutions with a view to their easy adaptation to changing external conditions and inner needs. Chiefly, however, it was due to Zinzendorf's restless spirit and his preoccupation with other matters.[171]

In addition to the religious instruction which was a part of the regular school curriculum, the following services were generally in use: (1) morning and evening worship; (2) a week-day children's hour; (3) a Sunday children's hour; (4) class meetings. The morning and evening worship services were held with the children in their own dormitory in class groups according to their ages immediately upon rising and before retiring. In the case of the older children these were frequently permitted to conduct the morning or the evening service by themselves if they so desired.[172]

The week-day children's hour was a meeting of the Children's Choir as a whole and was usually held at seven o'clock in

[168] *J. H. D.*, September 24, 1747.
[169] *Uttendoerfer, Erz. Zs.*, pp. 192–214.
[170] *J. H. D.*, August 8, 1747.
[171] *Sp. Z. L.*, I, p. 737.
[172] *Uttendoerfer, Erz. Zs.*, pp. 194–198.

the evening. The program varied greatly, but seems always to have included an opening prayer and devotional reading and the singing of hymns. In addition there was sometimes an address, sometimes an exercise in repeating Scripture from memory and sometimes an exchange of experiences. The singing of hymns was usually in concert; but occasionally the children sang in smaller groups or separately, as the interest of the hour dictated.[173] These were the services at which Zinzendorf delivered most of his addresses and sermons to children, in which he reveals much of his own theory and method of religious instruction.[174]

The Sunday children's hour immediately preceded the morning service of worship and preaching in the church. In the beginning it was intended primarily for the smaller children and for others who for any reason could not so well attend the service for adults. Gradually it was made to include all children belonging to the Children's Choir. The character of the service was not unlike that of the morning service of the congregation which immediately followed. It differed from this in the adaptation of the hymns, Scripture passages and sermons to the needs of the younger group.[175]

The children's class meetings permitted the more perfect adaptation of the service and instruction to the needs of the smaller age groups. Boys and girls also were organized into separate classes. The meetings gave opportunity for dealing directly with the problems of religious experience in the individual and were an important factor in the cultivation of the personal religious life.[176]

In addition to these stated services of the Children's Choir, there were manifold occasions for special meetings. These occurred more especially in connection with the church festivals, the administration of the sacraments, and the sadder occasions

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[173] *Bd. Sam.*, I, 802; *J. H. D.*, September 24, 1747.

[174] Kinder Reden. The J. H. D. record in most cases indicates the circumstances under which the address was given.

[175] *Besch. Hht.*, p. 88; *Sp. Z. L.*, II, p. 868.

[176] *Uttendoerfer, Erz. Zs.*, p. 197.

arising from the sickness or death of a member of the choir.[177] Special use was made of children's love feasts, which were sometimes held by classes and sometimes by the choir as a whole. The sacrament of baptism in the case of children was administered at a stated or special meeting of the Children's Choir, the children themselves participating in various ways, including responsive readings and group prayers suited to the age group and to the occasion.[178] Thus the baptismal covenant was impressed deeply upon the minds of all children during their most impressionable years. Still another special observance was the day of prayer for children.[179] As a rule this was observed once in every four weeks on Saturday afternoon. It combined into a longer service extending over several hours the features of the week-day children's hour, the class meeting and other exercises.

The servants and helpers for the Children's Choir were selected with great care, since upon them rested the responsibility of becoming the confidantes and spiritual advisers of the individual children, who were encouraged to avail themselves of this relationship. Zinzendorf himself explains the need for such frequent adult counsel and spiritual assistance in a special address to the children held at Bethel, near Herrnhut, January 11, 1756.

> The reason for confiding one's spiritual circumstance is because we are so differently constituted by nature with regard to the character and degree of our individual needs, according to which it is necessary for one to be cautious where another may act freely; and because it is necessary for us to discover the good which sometimes lies behind a doubtful appearance, and to appropriate the blessing which is contained in a circumstance that ordinarily might bring us harm. . . . For these purposes we may make use of the wider experience of the servants and helpers who are ready to share with us our joy and our sorrow. They are the confidantes to whom we may reveal our hearts, and who will speak with the Saviour on our account, and in turn entrust to us what the Saviour reveals to them for our good.[180]

With the highest ideals and the best of intentions, however, the results of the religious instruction in the Children's Choir

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[177] *J. H. D.*, February 18, 1757; *Ibid.*, April 22, 1760.

[178] *Besch. Hht.*, p. 92. [179] *Sp. Z. L.*, II, p. 868. [180] *Kd. Red.*, p. 88.

revealed many imperfections, of which no one seems to have been more keenly conscious than Zinzendorf when, in 1738, he writes to the elders of the congregation at Herrnhut:

All these institutions (choirs, classes, bands) we conduct in a childlike evangelical spirit. No person, after he has attained the ability to think for himself is unduly urged. But the Lord give us wisdom in dealing with the children! These are not to be compelled, but still led in accordance with our plans. To them it is for the most part a matter of indifference what we are endeavoring to impress upon their receptive minds. But they will not remain free from definite impressions; and it sometimes seems as though it depended solely upon who has the first opportunity with them.[181]

Choirs for Boys and Girls. Considering the period from six to eighteen, Zinzendorf realized clearly the difference between boys and girls, which he considers important enough to call for separate organization and training for boys and for girls. His statement to the combined choirs at Westminster, March 25, 1752, is the clearest we have from him on this subject.[182] Immediately following his remarks about little children made on this occasion, Zinzendorf continues:

The Boys' Choir and the Girls' Choir are two entirely different groups and require entirely different pedagogical methods. They have distinct modes of thought growing out of differences of soul, although these differences at first manifest themselves in trifling matters; e. g., the one prefers a bonnet and the other prefers a hat. From year to year, however, the differences in the modes of thought are of a more serious character and of greater importance and must be dealt with by the teacher with greater care. Boyhood and girlhood continue to the beginning of young manhood and young womanhood so that one may be a boy or a girl perhaps twelve years. That is a very long period requiring much attention. As soon as the characteristics of young manhood and young womanhood appear these necessitate a further change in pedagogical method of teaching, in which, however, the Saviour still remains the Mediator.[183]

By "the characteristics of young manhood and young womanhood," Zinzendorf means those accompanying puberty.

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[181] *Ev. Test.*, in *Bd. Sam.*, II, p. 272.

[182] *Hht. Arhv.*, R4CI No. 2.

[183] *Hht. Arhv.*, R4CI No. 2.

For girls especially this is the time of greatest stress and strain, the symptoms of which are restlessness, disobedience and willfulness of conduct.[184] The Saviour "remains the Mediator" in the sense that contemplation of his life and example is effective at this age also in the determination of ideals and the motivation of conduct. On this point Zinzendorf says:

> It is best if a boy's first conscious thought of becoming a man begins with the docility which characterized the later boyhood of Jesus after he returned from the Temple and in continued submission to his parents began to work at his trade. It is best if the first thought of an older girl which brings to her the consciousness of her womanhood is prompted by the experience of Mary when she conceived the Saviour of the world. If young men and young women begin in this way, it exercises an influence on their entire future life. I vouch for it that no devil, no flesh and blood nor temptation nor neglect will be able to erase the mighty impression made upon their minds. Their souls will be touched and penetrated thereby so that no counter-imagination can erase the influence.[185]

Zinzendorf, therefore, clearly realized that the years of early adolescence were the most crucial years of youth. The boys and girls passing through them from year to year were the subjects of his sincere and special concern. Awakening manhood and womanhood are characterized among other things by a new sense of personal independence and responsibility. Most helpfully he reminds the boys and girls that for them the period may be a time in which one who has already as a child received the kingdom of God without effort on his part, now turns about and once more willingly becomes a child in a higher, more spiritual and more personally conscious sense.[186] The twelve-year-old boy Jesus is the ideal for this age. In his thoughtful conversation with the elders in the Temple he sets all boys and girls an example. They too may ask questions and converse freely with their elders concerning the will and the work of the heavenly Father, especially as these relate to their own religious experience. It is their own experience, their own personal relationship to Christ, that matters

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[184] *J. H. D.*, June 5, 1757; Cf. "*The Puberty Crisis in Girls*," *Hht. Arhv.*, R2A36C.

[185] *Hht. Arhv.*, R4CI No. 2.

[186] *J. H. D.*, February 20, 1758.

most and with regard to which they must now come to a clear understanding.[187]

This is the time when the meaning of sin and of salvation must be made very plain, because there is danger that those who have thus freely received of God's grace from their earliest childhood may fail to realize how very near the Saviour really is to them, or how much he really expects of them. To realize this fully it is also necessary to understand in a larger measure the true magnitude and meaning of Christ's redemption, and how great is the sinfulness from which he has redeemed us. This fuller recognition and understanding of all that Christ has done for us requires in turn a rededication of oneself to Christ, which should be the natural and normal result of adolescent awakening under adult guidance. On this account Zinzendorf pleads for a suitable ceremony of self-dedication (confirmation) which shall parallel the first dedication made in baptism.

> I should like to see the children, when they arrive at the age of puberty, have a ceremony that would, in their thought, parallel the ceremony of baptism in that it would confirm from their side the earlier covenant. Such a ceremony must be for the boys and girls no less impressive than baptism or the communion service, although different from both. . . .
>
> It is not that the children are lacking in the grace of their baptism, but only in the personal realization of the covenant. . . .
>
> At such a solemn confirmation the whole congregation would realize that the boy (or girl) has entered upon a new status, . . . and the temptation to stray away would be circumvented.[188]

There is no evidence that Zinzendorf actually established such a service of confirmation. This seems not to have become a part of the Moravian program until after Zinzendorf's death. The conception, however, must be placed to Zinzendorf's credit as a part of his plan of religious training. After the Choirs for Older Boys and for Older Girls were fully developed at Herrnhut and elsewhere, their stated services were arranged on much the same order as those of the Children's Choir with such adaptations as the more mature age of the choir members made desirable.

[187] *Kd. Red.*, January 1, 1756; May 23, 1755.

[188] In 1750, *Aplg. Schft.*, p. 594.

Special mention should be made of Zinzendorf's interest in the training of girls. To him belongs the credit of being among the very first to have actually established schools and dormitories for their exclusive use. And, since his educational program centered in religious training, his service in this field may well be counted a part of his religious-educational program.

Choir Promotions—Kinder-Eltern. From the Choirs for Older Boys and for Older Girls the young people, by due process of promotion, marked by appropriate ceremonies and festivities, passed into the Choirs for Young (Unmarried) Men and for Young (Unmarried) Women.[189] This transfer was ordinarily made at the age of approximately eighteen, though sometimes not until twenty. With these older groups more place was given to self-determination and self-government. This reached its full development in the Choirs for Young Men and Young Women, although there was a measure of self-determination and government allowed to the upper classes of the preceding choir. All such self-government was subject to the Council of Elders of the congregation.

The men and women placed more emphasis upon the voluntary bands. It was with adults in mind that Zinzendorf wrote concerning these:

> The societies which are otherwise called bands are composed of two, three, or more souls bound together in Christ's name, and among whom Christ is. These converse with each other with exceptional freedom and simplicity regarding all that is in their hearts. They conceal nothing from one another, but have devoted themselves fully to each other's care in the Lord. Cordiality, confidence and daily association are a great blessing to such souls and should never be neglected.[190]

Much was made of the transfer or promotion from one choir to the next. This applied especially to the promotions (1) from the Children's Choir to the Boys' Choir, in the case of little boys, and to the Girls' Choir, in the case of little girls; (2) from the Boys' Choir to the Older Boys' Choir; (3) from the

[189] *J. H. D.*, March 25, 1747; July 9, 1755; August 29, 1760.

[190] *Ew. Test.*, in *Bd. Sam.*, II, p. 274.

Girls' Choir to the Older Girls' Choir; (4) from the Older Boys' Choir to the Choir for Young Men; and (5) from the Older Girls' Choir to the Choir for Young Women. Suitable ceremonies of welcome, consecration, and formal installation constituted a recognized part of the promotion exercises. Reports of these promotion services are scattered through the Diary of the Pilgrim Congregation, *Juenger-Haus Diarium*. Thus, May 9, 1757, in the evening, the Girls' Choir at Herrnhut, on the occasion of their festal day, had a liturgical service in the course of which twenty-two little girls from the Children's Choir were received. "During the singing of hymns Louisa von Hayn removed the insignia bands of the Children's Choir, whereupon Elizabeth von Zinzendorf presented and tied the Girls' Choir Ribbon for each.[191] This ceremony was followed by an address by Zinzendorf. A similar exercise for boys is reported under date of February 20, 1758. The address made by Zinzendorf on this occasion on the text, "I have caused thee to grow up," is given in the Appendix.[192] On March 25, 1747, girls were received into the Older Girls' Choir and older girls promoted to the Choir for Young Women. All the girls, clad in white, sat in a circle in the center of the hall, immediately in front of the choir officers. Then Zinzendorf examined the younger group, the girls answering his questions with hymn verses which the group sang together. The services on this occasion included a "love feast" with the partaking of bread and water with song and prayer. Then followed the promotion ceremony.[193] Similar "song catechisms" are reported in the diary records for April 3 and 23, 1747. On April 27 of the same year (1747) sixty-six boys were reported present at the Choir Festival for Older Boys. At the promotion exercises of the Boys' Choirs Zinzendorf again delivered the address and the boys sang their choir hymn (class song).[194] The diary entry for August 29, 1760, three months after Zinzendorf's death, gives a full account of a festal day of the combined choirs for boys and young men. Fourteen older boys are admitted to the Choir for Young Men. Reports are

[191] *J. H. D.*, May 9, 1757.
[192] *J. H. D.*, February 20, 1758. Appendix I.
[193] *J. H. D.*, March 25, 1747.
[194] *Ibid.*, April 27, 1747.

read from congregations in many different places with a statistical summary showing that the total enrollment of boys and young men in the choirs at Herrnhut, Hennersdorf and neighboring congregations was 510. The boys and young men in Boemisch Niska numbered 140; those in Wendish Niska 77, making a total for Oberlausitz of 727. Then followed reports from America, Asia and Africa, but no figures are given.[195]

The Choirs for Unmarried Men and for Unmarried Women in time became the training centers for "warrior" members of the congregation, all of whom were subject to being drafted for missionary service as witnesses of the gospel, either as teachers or as industrial workers. This preparation called for a more continuous and intensive cultivation of the religious life, the strictest discipline in personal morals and practical training in varied forms of social service. Thus arose the custom of providing a separate dormitory or "Choir House" for each of the older unmarried groups. Here the members of the group lived together, encouraged each other in their religious experience, conducted their own affairs under the supervision of the Council of Elders, and observed a division of labor intended to utilize the special gifts and abilities of each for the larger benefit of the choir and congregation.[196]

To supplement the religious nurture and training furnished by the choir system and in the home, Zinzendorf provided another institution, that of *Kinder-Eltern,* or *Kinder-Vaeter,* who served the congregation as special religious companions and counselors of the children. As such they visit the children in their homes and advise and assist the parents in the training of their children, instruct the children separately and individually and seek to become their trusted confidantes and counselors in all matters relating either directly or indirectly to their personal religious experience and development. The Synod of Marienborn in 1744 defined the work of the Kinder-Eltern as follows:

"Their duty shall be solely to assist the parents in the training of their children. They shall consider day and night how all the children may, without affectation or compulsion, come into the expe-

[195] *J. H. D.*, August 29, 1760. [196] *Cranz. Br. Hist.*, I, p. 153.

rience of grace which the Saviour brings to pass in the human hearts. They are not to care for the temporal needs of the children and are not to meddle in family matters, except that they are to act as the perpetual confidential advisers of the parents and the constant companions and confidantes of the children."[197]

The Kinder-Eltern are to devote their whole time to this work, their actual living expenses to be borne by the congregation which they serve.[198] "Such a Vice-Father or Vice-Mother," says Zinzendorf, "shall rank as an elder [of the congregation] and above the Choir Elders. They shall attend exclusively to the matters pertaining to children, having no other concern."[199] When asked how children of the community in general are to be regarded and treated by the Kinder-Eltern, Zinzendorf replies, "As belonging to the heavenly Father, but to be sympathized with because they have not been taught from the cradle concerning the Saviour.'[200] Full co-operation is to be given by the Kinder-Eltern to the Choir Elders and to the supervisors and teachers in the school and orphanage.[201] At a conference, January 14, 1745, plans are announced by Zinzendorf to appoint Kinder-Eltern for twenty-three different communities "for the purpose of assisting parents in the nurture and training of their children."[202] The institution of Kinder-Eltern prospered in England,[203] and provision was made for their support.[204] In Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, Kinder-Eltern are the subject of consideration by the Synod of 1748, and the importance of their work emphasized.[205]

The year before Zinzendorf's death a report presented at the children's festival love feast at Zeist, Holland, refers to the

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[197] *Hht. Arhv., Synodalverlasz Marienborn*—June 14, 1744.

[198] *Hht Ph. Arhv., Pheilauer Konferenz*, November 7, 1743.

[199] *Ibid.* [200] *Ibid.*

[201] *Hht. Arhv., Synodverlasz Marienborn*, June 14, 1744. *Ibid.*, R2A19, 1 S 329; *J. H. D.*, July 7, 1759.

[202] *Hht. Arhv.*, R2A16, 1. [203] *Hht. Arhv.*, R20D20; *J. H. D.*

[204] *J. H. D.*, March 1, 1754.

[205] *Penn. Syn. Verlasz*, Bethlehem, February 13 to June 16, 1748.

institution of Kinder-Eltern as a divine institution which is prospering in the congregations in England and Holland.[206]

Thus did Zinzendorf seek in a very effective way to supplement the work of home, school, and choir organization, in order that the major purpose of the congregation, the religious nurture and training of children and youth, might be accomplished.

[206] *J. H. D.*, July 7, 1759.

CHAPTER V

THE RELIGIOUS EDUCATIONAL PRINCIPLES OF ZINZENDORF

ALTHOUGH Zinzendorf nowhere gives a complete or carefully formulated theory of religious education, he does repeatedly state certain important principles of educational procedure which taken together suggest that he did, in fact, develop for himself a fairly consistent and in many respects strikingly modern working philosophy of religious education. These separate principles were outlined in the discussion of child nature and nurture,[1] and are restated in another paragraph of this summarization. To prove conclusively the originality of Zinzendorf at this point would require a comparison of his views and his work with earlier and with contemporary eighteenth-century theory and practice in religious education, which has not been attempted in this study. Insofar as such comparisons have been made,[2] however, these strongly suggest originality on the part of Zinzendorf. This is true, moreover, at exactly those points in theory at which he is most nearly in accord with recognized principles of modern psychology, as, for example, in his view of child nature and of religious development,[3] as contrasted with either the orthodox Lutheran view of baptismal regeneration,[4] or the Pietistic formula of conversion as applied to children.[5]

In his administrative practice in religious education, and especially in his organization of the Christian community for purposes of worship and instruction,[6] Zinzendorf was consistent with those elements of his theory in which he showed the greatest measure of originality and in which he approximates most nearly modern scientific principles.[7]

[1] Chapter III, pp. 92ff.

[2] For example, the analysis and comparison of children's catechisms, pp. 21–49.

[3] P. 102ff. [4] Pp. 106–121. [5] P. 179.

[6] Cf. Choir organization by age groups, pp. 167ff.

[7] Cf. Zinzendorf's clear recognition of age differences in his discussion of the Choirs, pp. 169f.; with his views on free development, 102f; and on religious growth, p. 106f.

The conditions which furnished to Zinzendorf the sufficient basis in personal experience for an independent and advanced working philosophy of religious education are significant. He had a first-hand intimate acquaintance with children and young people, both his own children and those of the Moravian communities and congregations which he served;[8] and was an interested, sympathetic observer and student of the religious experience and development of children and youth.[9] His catechisms,[10] sermons, and addresses to children,[11] hymns, poems, liturgies, and Bible texts[12] for children are so many expressions of his continued appreciative interest in the religious welfare of young people. The earliest of these catechisms, written by Zinzendorf at the age of twenty-two, is especially noteworthy as revealing the author's understanding of child nature and his ability to adapt both subject matter and method to the child's capacity to understand.[13]

Zinzendorf was well acquainted with the literary source materials of the Christian religion. A lifelong student of the Bible and more especially the life and teachings of Jesus, his biblical writings[14] demonstrate his understanding of the Scriptures, and reveal both his reverence for the Word of God and his eager desire to extend the knowledge of its teachings among all classes and conditions of people.[15] He was a student of Lutheran theology[16] but considered personal religious experience more important than creeds.[17] He was conversant with the best educational theory and practice of his day, that of the Franckische institutions at Halle, in which he had received his early adolescent training. The educational example of Halle was the inspiration of the Prussian school reforms under Frederick William I.[18] Added to this Zinzendorf had the advantage of continued personal practice in the actual teaching of children and young people in the Moravian congregations which provided him with a laboratory in which he was free to introduce and test out any inno-

[8] Pp. 92–101. [9] *Ibid.* [10] Pp. 21–49. [11] Pp. 61–63.
[12] Pp. 70–88. [13] *Lautere Milch*, pp. 21–30. [14] Pp. 49–60.
[15] Pp. 59–60; p. 197. [16] Having studied both at Wittenberg and at Stralsund.
[17] P. 14. [18] Ziegler, *Geschichte der Paedagogik*, pp. 204–206.

vation in theory, organization, or teaching method that seemed to give promise of better results in character development.[19] As the instructor and counselor of parents and teachers in their religious instruction of children and young people,[20] he was compelled to formulate and to state for the use of parents and teachers the essential principles which he advocated and recommended for their work.[21]

Zinzendorf learned by doing. His educational theory was worked out in the laboratory of actual experience with children and young people in the Christian community. Starting with the orthodox theology of his day[22] and the recognized best educational practice as represented by the institutional life and educational procedure at Halle,[23] he supplemented, modified, and reinterpreted these as observation and experience dictated. His early recognition of the purity and innocence of the little child, and of the fact of religious development in the individual[24] brought him into sharp conflict with the Lutheran doctrine of baptismal regeneration[25] and the Pietistic formula of conversion[26] with its insistence upon the consciousness of moral guilt and an agonizing struggle of repentance as a condition of forgiveness of sin even for children. This Pietistic formula of conversion Zinzendorf gradually abandoned in favor of a frank recognition of religious development.[27] In so doing he substituted joy for sorrow in the religious life of childhood and restored to the child the natural happiness of a conscious filial relationship to a loving heavenly Father.[28] Baptismal regeneration Zinzendorf endeavored to reinterpret and to reconcile with the observed facts of free development and religious growth. The impossibility of reconciliation at this point, together with Zinzendorf's unwilling-

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[19] P. 171f. [20] P. 60f. [21] P. 102f; 106f.

[22] The Augsburg Confession and Luther's Enchiridion.

[23] *Ziegler, Geschichte der Paedagogik*, p. 204f.; p. 218f.

[24] P. 106f. [25] *Ibid.* [26] Pp. 126–127.

[27] The Choir organization by age groups first paralleled and then superseded the earlier grouping of children according to their religious status as converted, awakened, or unconverted. P. 163ff.

[28] Cf. Zinzendorf's definition of child nurture on p. 123.

ness to abandon a cardinal doctrine of orthodox Lutheranism introduced into his general theory of religious education a permanent element of contradiction which he never overcame.[29]

Nevertheless, Zinzendorf did state clearly and repeatedly his unqualified acceptance of the moral innocence of little children and his belief in the free development of the individual life from within. Physical and mental development is paralleled by spiritual development, the stages of which are marked as clearly as those of physical growth. The problem of religious nurture is, therefore, one of preserving the child in his original innocence, keeping from him all influences that would mar or soil his spirit, and providing an environment favorable to spiritual growth. Petty rules and negative discipline are harmful. A noble example is more effective than precepts. For every age and period of spiritual development the life experiences and example of Jesus furnish the necessary pattern. In his clear statement of these principles Zinzendorf anticipated the conclusions of modern psychology of religion concerning original nature and the religious status and growth of the child.[30]

In practice finally Zinzendorf recognized the principle of religious growth in his organization of the choir system in which children and young people were grouped according to age for purposes of graded instruction and worship.[31] After early childhood they were grouped also according to sex.[32] His statements regarding the characteristics and interests of the various age groups are brief but accurate.[33] In the actual work of religious education, Zinzendorf's emphasis throughout is upon the stimulation and development of religious experience rather than on the acquisition of knowledge about religion. Informal conversations about religion and group participation in religious exercises, worship, singing, Bible reading, and the exchange of personal experience are substituted for dogmatic, catechetical instruction.[34]

[29] Pp. 106ff.

[30] Cf. *Pratt*, The Religion of Childhood—*The Religious Consciousness*, pp. 91–107; and Coe on "The moral continuity in child growth"—*A Social Theory of Religious Education*, pp. 147–156.

[31] P. 163f. [32] P. 169f. [33] P. 164f.

[34] P. 165ff.

Religious experience is to manifest itself in attitudes and responses. Directed toward God as he has revealed himself in Christ, these attitudes and responses result in joyous intimate fellowship and conscious communion. Directed toward others and toward one's environment, they result in good will, spiritual companionship, and useful service. The religious teacher is to be the companion and trusted counselor of his pupils as well as their instructor in religion. In his emphasis upon graded instruction and training in the congregation, Zinzendorf does not overlook the importance of the home and of parental teaching. In his total plan of religious nurture and training, the place of the Christian home is central and the responsibility of parents for the religious training of their children fundamental.[35] Therefore parents and prospective parents need instruction as well as children. Where they fail in their duty, other helpers must be supplied in the form of "Kinder-Eltern,"[36] who become vice-parents to all neglected children and at the same time the friendly counselors of the actual fathers and mothers whom they seek to encourage in the moral and religious training of their children. Thus in the organization and administration of religious education, as well as in his theory of child nature and nurture, Zinzendorf was a progressive in advance of his time, a kindred spirit of all who understand children and who conceive the problem of religious education in terms of creating for the child a wholesome, stimulating religious environment favorable to a normal development of the spiritual life.

[35] P. 131ff. [36] P. 172ff.

APPENDICES

APPENDICES

PAGE

APPENDIX I—SOURCE QUOTATIONS

Lautere Milch der Lehre von Jesu Christo, translated by the writer 186

Children's Prayer, translated by the writer 193

Zinzendorf's letter of introduction from Isaac Watts to President Holyoke of Harvard (Photostatic Copy) 193

Typical Day in Zinzendorf's work as a Religious Teacher 194

Page from the Juenger-Haus Diarium (Photostatic Copy) 195

Address to Girls' Choir 195

Address to Older Girls' Choir 197

Address to Boys' Choir 197

Page from the Diary of Bethlehem (Photostatic Copy) 198

Children's Hymn 199

Prayer for Children 200

Song for Boys 201

Brief Essay on the Christian Nurture of Children ... 202

Zinzendorf's Morbid Mysticism 205

APPENDIX II—BIBLIOGRAPHY

APPENDIX I. SOURCE QUOTATION

COUNT ZINZENDORF'S PURE MILK OF THE TEACHING CONCERNING JESUS CHRIST

THAT is, very simple questions and answers arranged in accordance with the comprehension of junior and little children, prepared with the best of intentions in honor of the Saviour, for the benefit of little children, and the advantage of parents.

NOTE AND PREFACE

(1) The Bible verses are not used as proof texts, but as merely belonging to the subject matter under discussion because of their being easily taught to children, who will recognize and comprehend all the words that are used in order that children may as soon as possible come to an understanding of the meaning of words used by the Holy Spirit, that they may not be dependent upon the word and explanations of men. If, therefore, any of the Bible verses do not seem to prove the statement in connection with which they appear, the reader should not be surprised, since proof is not part of their purpose, because little children do not yet know the meaning of proof.

(2) No approbation on account of this catechism is desired. It is not intended for clever folks, but has been written for the little ones, whose angels at all times behold the face of our Father in heaven.

In the name of the (Child Jesus) Christ-child, who is the greatest of Lords, Amen.

THE CATECHISM

1. What are you? Are you a tree, or an animal, or a human person?

I am a human person.

I also am a man, under authority.—Matt. 8. 9.

2. Do you feel it when I take hold of you?

I can feel it well.

3. What is this, is this not flesh?

Yes, that is flesh.

In me, that is, in my flesh, dwelleth no good thing.—Rom. 7. 18.

4. All this flesh which you have is called the body. What is it called?

The body.

Know ye not that your body is a temple of the Holy Spirit? 1 Cor. 6. 19.

5. Have you ever seen a person who has died?

Oh, yes.

Man, that is born of a woman, is of few days.—Job 14. 1.

6. What, then, is the matter with these people? The body is still here, is it not?

Yes, certainly the body is still here.

7. How do you know, then, that the people have died?

They cannot speak any more, they cannot move any more.

8. Do you know why not?

I do not know why not.

9. Behold, dear child, the body is a dwelling place in which the soul or spirit lives. If this comes out, then the body or dwelling place cannot stir or move itself any more. Why, then, do people die?

Because the soul has moved out of the body.

The body apart from the spirit is dead.—James 2. 26.

10. When the body can no longer move itself, it is taken away and buried, is it not?

Yes, people take it away and bury it.

11. But they cannot bury the soul, can they, for that has already gone away?

No, they cannot bury the soul because it is not here any more.

The dust returneth to the earth as it was, and the spirit returneth unto God who gave it.—Eccl. 12. 7.

12. Have you ever heard about heaven?

Oh, yes, I have heard people speak about heaven.

13. Have you also heard about hell?

Yes.

14. Heaven is a beautiful place, is it not?

Yes, heaven is a very beautiful place.

How amiable are thy tabernacles, O Jehovah of hosts! My soul longeth, yea, even fainteth, for the courts of Jehovah.—Psa. 84. 1, 2.

15. But hell is an awful place where people are tormented. Do you know that?

Yes, in hell people are tormented.

They are appointed as a flock for Sheol; Death shall be their shepherd.—Psa. 49. 14.

16. If a person has been wicked, the soul goes into hell; if he has been good, the soul comes into heaven. Where does the soul go when a person has been wicked?

Into hell.

17. But if a person has been good, where does the soul go?

Into heaven.

18. Would you also like to go to heaven?

Oh, yes.

19. See, we are here in the church, there is the altar, there the pulpit, table, benches, etc. Has anybody made these things?

Oh, yes, somebody must have made them.

20. Then someone must also have made heaven?

Yes, surely someone made heaven also.

In the beginning God created the heavens and the earth.—Gen. 1. 1.

21. But who can have made heaven. That must have been a very great person?

Surely that was a great person.

22. Perhaps it was the heavenly Father who made heaven?

Yes, God did make heaven.

23. What, then, is he who made heaven called?

The heavenly Father.

24. Who, then, is God?

God is the person who made heaven.

25. He certainly can do everything he wishes?

Yes, God can do everything he wishes.

But our God is in the heavens: he hath done whatsoever he pleased.—Psa. 115. 3.

26. Then he must also be everywhere?

Yes, God is everywhere.

Can any hide himself in secret places so that I shall not see him? saith Jehovah. Do not I fill heaven and earth? saith Jehovah.—Jer. 23. 24.

27. Is he here with us also?

Yes, he is with us also.

The Lord is at hand. In nothing be anxious.—Phil. 4. 5b, 6a.

(Jesus said,) Lo, I am with you always, even unto the end of the world.—Matt. 28. 20.

For where two or three are gathered together in my name, there am I in the midst of them.—Matt. 18. 20.

28. Is he then a very good person?

Yes, he is very good.

One there is who is good.—Matt. 19. 17.

Jehovah is good to all; And his tender mercies are over all his works.—Psa. 145. 9.

29. Is he also stern?

Yes, he is also very stern.

I Jehovah thy God am a jealous God.—Exod. 20. 5.

30. To whom is he then good?

To people who are good.

With the pure thou wilt show thyself pure.—Psa. 18. 26.

With the merciful thou wilt show thyself merciful.—2 Sam. 22. 26.

31. Toward whom is he stern?

Toward people who are wicked.

For thou art not a God that hath pleasure in wickedness: Evil shall not sojourn with thee.—Psa. 5. 4.

There is no peace, saith my God, to the wicked.—Isa. 57. 21.

Many sorrows shall be to the wicked.—Psa. 32. 10.

32. Did the heavenly Father really say those things himself?

Yes, the heavenly Father said that himself.

God, having of old time spoken unto the fathers in the prophets by divers portions and in divers manners.—Heb. 1. 1.

33. To whom did he say that? Was it to good people?

Yes, to some good people.

Men spake from God, being moved by the Holy Spirit.—2 Peter 1. 21.

34. Did they write down what the heavenly Father said to them?

Yes, they wrote down everything.

35. See, that in which we write down things is called a book and when there are many such written books together we call it a Bible. Then what do we call the book in which many smaller books have been presented together with all that these good people wrote down?

The Holy Bible.

36. Is it written in the Holy Bible also that God made man?
Yes, that is written in it.

And Jehovah God formed man of the dust of the ground, and breathed into his nostrils the breath of life; and man became a living soul.—Gen. 2. 7.

37. Did the people whom God made look like God?
Oh, yes, they looked like him.

And God said, Let us make man in our image, after our likeness.—Gen. 1. 26.

38. Then they must have been very beautiful, were they not?
Yes, they were very beautiful.

39. Were they also good as the heavenly Father is good?
Yes, they were good, just as the heavenly Father.

40. Did man remain so, or did he become different from the heavenly Father again?
They did not remain so, they became different from the heavenly Father.

41. Were they afterward no longer beautiful and good?
Oh, no, they were no longer beautiful and good.

42. Then they must have become very unlovely and bad and mean?
Yes, they became very unlovely and bad and mean.

And when I passed by thee, and saw thee weltering in thy blood.—Ezek. 16. 6.

From the sole of the foot even unto the head there is no soundness in it; but wounds, and bruises, and fresh stripes.—Isa. 1. 6.

43. Then perhaps they became just like the Evil One?
Yes, they became just like the Evil One.

44. How did that happen? Did the people become sick that they became so unlovely?
Yes, they became deathly sick and that is why they became unlovely.

45. How did that happen? Did they perhaps eat something that made them sick?
Yes, yes, they ate something that made them so sick.

And Jehovah God commanded the man, saying . . . in the day that thou eatest thereof thou shalt surely die.—Gen. 2. 16a, 17b.

46. Had the heavenly Father told them not to eat it?
Yes, the heavenly Father had forbidden it.

47. But did they eat of the forbidden fruit after all?
Yes, they ate the forbidden fruit.

48. And in that way they were disobedient to the heavenly Father?
Yes, they were disobedient to the heavenly Father.

49. Is it perhaps because of their disobedience that people die?
Yes, that is the reason they die.

50. But did not the heavenly Father help the people again?
Yes, he soon helped again.
I said unto thee, Though thou art in thy blood, live; yea, I said unto thee, Though thou art in thy blood, live.—Ezek. 16. 6.

51. Did he perhaps send them a physician or a Saviour?
Yes, he did send a physician.
I am Jehovah that healeth thee.—Exod. 15. 26.
He that is able to receive it, let him receive it.—Matt. 19. 12.

52. Is it the Lord Jesus whom he sent?
Yes, it is the dear Lord Jesus.
But he was wounded for our transgressions, he was bruised for our iniquities; the chastisement of our peace is upon him; and with his stripes we are healed.—Isa. 53. 5.

53. Did Jesus come to the people to help them?
Yes, he came to them and helped them.
Who went about doing good, and healing all that were oppressed of the devil; for God was with him.—Acts. 10. 38.

54. Does he still go about among people, or has he gone to heaven?
He does not go about among people as he used to. He is in heaven.
Jesus saith . . . I ascend unto my Father and your Father, and my God and your God.—John 20. 17.
As they were looking, he was taken up; and a cloud received him out of their sight.—Acts 1. 9.

55. Did he have anybody write down what people should do in the meantime?
Yes, he had it written down.
He that believeth and is baptized shall be saved.—Mark 16. 16a.

56. Does this help people to get well again?
Yes, it helps them to get well again.

57. But they must believe and obey what is written?
Yes, certainly they must believe and obey.

58. Is it perhaps the baptism which makes people well again?
Yes, it is holy baptism.

59. Have you been baptized?
Yes.

60. Have you ever seen anyone baptized?
No.

61. Then will I tell you how it is done? When you were baptized the minister put water on your head three times with his hand and then he prayed and you were made pure and well. Did you understand that?
Yes, I understand that.

62. Do you believe that you were made well in that way?
Yes, I believe that I was.

63. Who, then, was it who made you well?
Christ, the dear Lord Jesus, did it.

64. If the Lord Jesus had made you well, will you not love him?
Yes, I will love him.

65. Will you also follow him gladly?
That I will.

66. If you do not follow the Lord Jesus, it will not help you that you have been baptized and made well, but you will become even worse than before. Do you want that to happen?
Oh, no, I will follow him gladly.

67. If I should say to you the Lord Jesus desires this or that, would you do it?
Yes, I will gladly do it.

68. If I should say to you, the Lord Jesus does not like to have you do this or that, will you then do it?
No, I will not do it.

1. Commandment

69. The Lord Jesus desires that you should love the heavenly Father. Will you then do that?
Yes, I will love the heavenly Father.

2. Commandment

70. The Lord Jesus wants you to pray. Will you pray very often?
Yes, I will do that.

3. Commandment

71. The Lord Jesus would like to have you learn verses from the Bible. Will you learn them?

Yes.

4. Commandment

72. The Lord Jesus would like to have you be obedient. Will you be that?

Yes, I will gladly obey.

5. Commandment

73. The Lord Jesus will be glad if you never do anything to harm anybody. Will you never harm anybody?

I will never do any harm to anybody.

6. Commandment

74. The Lord Jesus does not like to see anyone eat or drink too much. You will not do that?

No, I will not do that.

7. Commandment

75. The Lord Jesus desires that you shall not do wrong to anyone. Will you be careful?

Yes, I will be careful.

8. Commandment

76. The Lord Jesus cannot bear to have you tell a lie. Then you will not?

Oh, no, I will not lie.

9-10. Commandment

77. The Lord Jesus is not pleased if you want everything that you see. You will not be so greedy?

No, I will not want to have everything.

78. If you wish to do all these things, you must ask the heavenly Father for his Holy Spirit. Will you do that?

Yes, I will ask the heavenly Father for his Holy Spirit.

If ye then, being evil, know how to give good gifts unto your children, how much more shall your heavenly Father give the Holy Spirit to them that ask Him?—Luke 11. 13.

PRAYER[1]

Dear Lord Jesus! I, who am a poor little child, would like to be upright and blessed, and would like to be presented for baptism. I cannot do it myself; help me and stand beside me and grant to me thy holy spirit, for thou thyself wert an exemplary child. Amen.

[1] Originally printed with the catechism.

TYPICAL DAY IN ZINZENDORF'S WORK AS A RELIGIOUS TEACHER

Festal Day for Boys and Young Men From Herrnhut and Neighboring Congregations

July 9, 1755

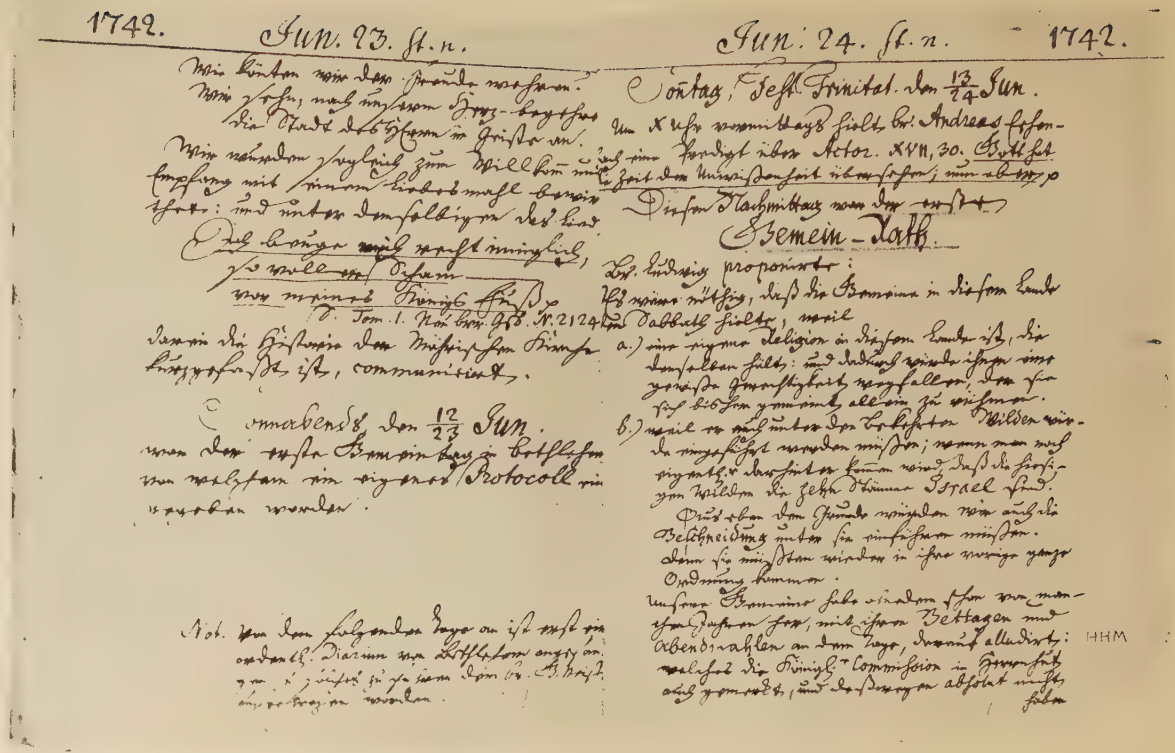
The boys were awakened by music, Zinzendorf conducting a morning prayer service for them in their dormitory. Then they went out in companies, discussing their religious experiences and problems with one another, Zinzendorf remaining in conference with a group of those who were to partake of the holy communion. Still later in the forenoon Zinzendorf conducted a personal conference with from fifty to sixty boys and young men in his own study. From there they proceeded together to the meeting-hall of the single brethren, where, after an impressive talk by Zinzendorf, twenty-eight smaller boys were consecrated for admission into the Choir for (Older) Boys. This consecration service was administered by David Ziesberger, the Brother in charge of the boys' choir.

Soon after Zinzendorf conducted the choir-festival love feast for them, telling them in his address how boys were looked upon in the days of his own boyhood, and how they were regarded now by members of the congregation who remembered that the Saviour too had been a boy. He also read them an account of a conference he had had with the Saviour[2] concerning the Knaben-Sache. After the visitors (those not belonging to this choir) had left, Zinzendorf inspected the whole choir, one person after another, with concentrated attention, and not without pleasure. Then he again addressed them.

At the song service the entire group again appeared before the congregation. After the singing they brought their festal day to a happy conclusion with the Chor-Abendsegen.[3] The fifty-four, however, whom Zinzendorf had selected for the meeting in his room in the morning, assembled again in his room, for a praise-service. After singing, Zinzendorf addressed them at some length. He expressed the wish that he might have had, in his youth, the opportunity they now enjoyed of being in their respective choirs. For to be a member of such a choir affords splendid opportunity for examination of self, as to whether one is really living a life of faith. There is no more convenient season in life for discovering whether one truly belongs to the

[2] A prayer he had composed and written down.

[3] Evening Choir Response and Benediction.



1742. Jun. 23. st. n.

Wir hielten mit dem Brunde nachsam.
Wir sahen, nach unserm Herz-bayfes
die Stadt Bethlehem in Grister an.
Wir wunden zugleich zum Willkom mit
Empfang mit einem Liebesmahl. Darin
stat: und unter demselbigen des Lied

Die Lämmer mit rechtt inniglich,
so wollen wir Ihnen
von meines Königs Ehre
T. Tom. I. Nürnb. Gesb. N. 2124

dann die Historie dem Mysterio Fidei
beygefüget ist, communicirt.

Abends, den 12/23 Jun.
war der erste Sonntag in Bethlehem
und nöthig ein eigenes Protocoll ein
gehalten wurde.

Nota. Von dem folgenden Tage an ist nicht ein
ordentl. Diarium von Bethlehem angefangen
worden, sondern es sind dem Br. Joseph
einige Collecten gegeben worden.

1742. Jun. 24. st. n.

Sontag, Festi Trinitat. den 13/14 Jun.

Um 8 Uhr communicirte Br. Andreas Fefen-
Predigt über Actor. XVII, 30. Gott ist
Zeit den Unwissenheit übersehen, nun aber
Diesen Nachmittag war der

Gemein-Rath.

Br. Ludwig proponirte:
Es wäre nützlich, dass die Gemeine in diesem Lande
Sabbath hielte, weil
a.) eine eigene Religion in diesem Lande ist, die
denselben hält: und dadurch würde ihnen eine
gerade Gewissheit verfallen, dass sie
sich diesen gemeinschaftlich allein zu nehmen.
b.) weil er nicht unter den Lehrsätzen Brüder wür-
de angesehen werden müssen; wenn man nicht
eigentl. überhaupt kommen würde, dass die Hei-
den Brüder die zehn Stämme Israel sind.

Dürfte aber dem Gesetze wegen wir auch die
Beschneidung unter sie einführen müssen.
denn sie würden in ihre ewige ganze
Ordnung kommen.
Unsere Gemeine habe einerlei Sonn- und
Festtage, wie sie Bettage und
Abendmahlen an dem Tage, da auch alle Brüder
welche die Königl. Commission in Empfang
auch genommen, und der Berg in absolut müsse
sein

HHM

Lord than the time of one's membership in the Boys' or Youths' or Single Brethren's Choir. In these years a person's demeanor is not governed by the requirements of profession or position. A youth is what he is, not what he is required to be as being on duty. In one way or another, he finds that these years are a time when he must become settled in character and disposition, not given to spasmodic efforts or flickering sentiment. Evil of one kind or another is apt to creep into a young person's life during these years. When he, then, thinks of the Saviour's youth as being unspotted and pure, he realizes that he must keep out of his life all that is impure. He also pleads in prayer that the Saviour may sanctify his nature, since he is unable by his own strength to keep himself from evil. He will do this the more earnestly and confidently as he remembers that the Saviour sanctified all the proper and natural relationships of boys and youths. Whoever thus comes to know the weakness of human nature and the surpassing merit of the Saviour in what he has done for our nature reflects that he is a member of his body and is greatly comforted in this knowledge.

Zinzendorf then urges all present to be true members of their choirs and of the congregation. He warns them that they will be obliged continually to keep watch over themselves, as they will find that their sinful nature exposes them to manifold temptations. They may be confident, however, that the Saviour will do all that is needed for them if they but completely yield themselves to him. After the address, the cup of covenanting and thanksgiving was partaken of, while hymns were being sung. The diarist records that the whole service made a deep impression on all present and remarks particularly that "the address by Zinzendorf was truly unsurpassed and that it was one which would remain engraved upon the hearts of the hearers."[4]

ADDRESS TO GIRLS' CHOIR

Herrnhut, June 26, 1758

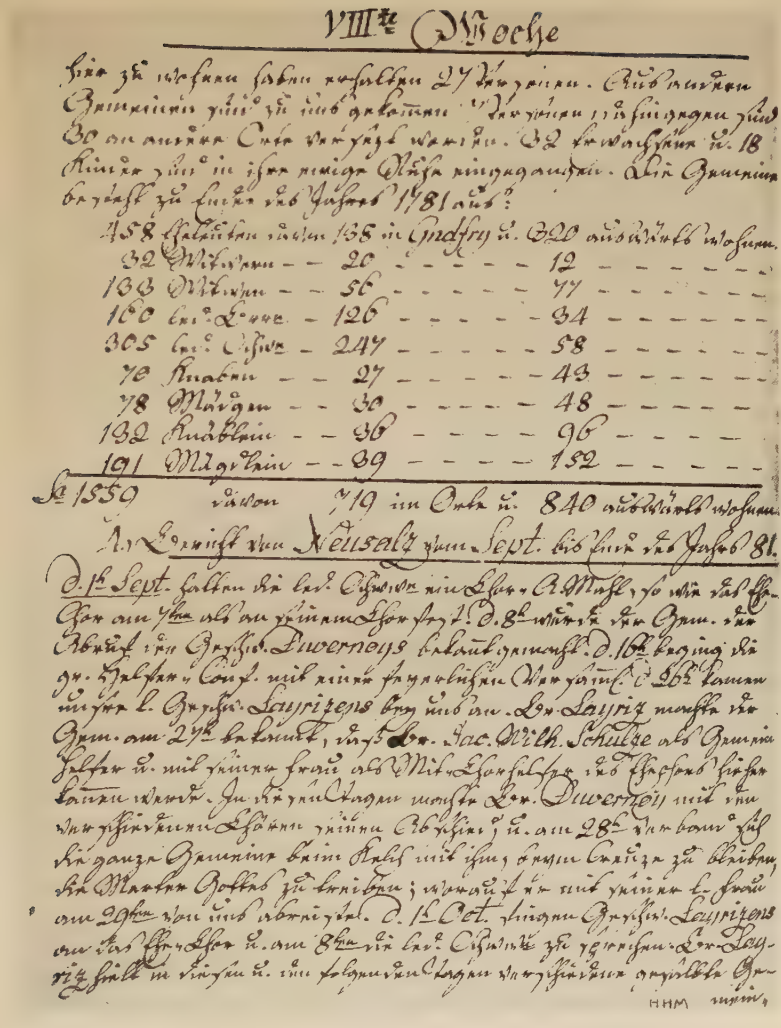
Theme: "That my words may abide in you."—John 15. 7.

These memory verses all are taken from the little collection which by and by I hope to complete and place in your hands; that is, the Bible, in which the events since the time of Moses, covering several thousand years, have been recorded together and which contains the whole subject matter of our teaching. The important consideration in connection with our instruction is

[4] *J. H. D.*, July 9, 1755.

that the heart and the book shall harmonize, that everything be both in the book and in our hearts at the same time. I have formed the habit of memorizing as I read and have thus through the years memorized practically the whole of the Bible unconsciously, so that when I speak in public I frequently express myself in biblical language, and when I have expressed myself in writing and find that I have not done so in biblical language, I frequently make the change. The Bible is a truly wonderful book. While there are many larger books than the Bible, still there is no thought or desire of the heart from which good may come and of which the Saviour rejoices for which one could not find the original corresponding expression in this book. Nor is there scarcely an unworthy thought or desire against which the words of this book do not give warning. There are, however, many historical legislative matters and many matters relating peculiarly to one people and their safe-keeping which do not apply to us because we belong to a different people. But even if we should take out all of these materials that do not concern us and thereby reduce the book to half its size, it would still be true that it would contain everything essential and would still furnish the materials which we should transmit, all that was necessary, and all that should be included in our teaching of others concerning the Saviour, the merit of his life, the nature of his person, the measure and the character of the likeness to him which we should achieve. There are teaching materials in abundance. All of our hymns are inspired by the Bible. What you sing is Bible truth. If anyone should ask me for the source of such and such a hymn stanza, even one that is unusual, I could refer him at once to the Bible source, and whatever is not derived from the Bible, be it ever so slightly different, is the product of human imagination—good and inoffensive it may be but not words of truth. . . .

For nearly thirty years I have been calling the attention of the congregation to various texts from the Bible so that they might be engraved in our hearts. When all these Bible quotations are once assembled and you have the little volume in your possession, I shall be happy. It will bring new life among you. You will find in it all the verses you have learned and which you have repeated and sung heartily. All these words are from Him; partly from his very own, partly by inspiration of the Holy Spirit (in others). The different ways in which the Saviour reveals himself to human hearts are explained in this book. Some things Jesus said were intended only for certain people, other things for everybody. Once Jesus said, "I have yet many things to say



VIII^te Woche

Hier zu wohnen haben verfallen 27 Personen. Auswärtige Communicanten sind zu uns gekommen 7 Personen, sind hinwegen sind 30 an auswärtige Orte verzogen wurden. 32 sind geboren u. 18 Kinder sind in ihre ewige Ruhe hingegangen. Die Communicanten bezahlt zu Ende des Jahres 1781 aus:

| | | |

to you, but ye cannot bear them now." Then after fifty years he intrusted some of these things to someone else, who preached them to others. Thus was the Bible brought together. Rejoice in advance, for you are to have this booklet[5] in language you can understand.[6]

ADDRESS TO OLDER GIRLS' CHOIR

HERRNHUT, JUNE 20, 1757

Theme: "The Inner man of gentle and modest spirit is precious in the sight of God."[7]

OUR mottoes for the day suggest a garden often visited by the Gardener himself, who naturally desires to partake of its fruits. . . . In such a heart the Saviour has opportunity to grow many a precious and lovely plant, one blossoming virtue and manifestation of glory after another. This is true especially when from time to time you are advanced from one grade or class to the next, as is the case to-day when some of you have been advanced to the fourth grade.[8] In time you will in the same way progress to the fifth and thereupon to the class for young women. By that time many a beautiful and fragrant flower will already have rejoiced the Gardener's heart. The garden itself will have grown larger, and the plants in it will have become large trees, even a forest. By then also acquaintanceship with him, with his suffering and his nearness, will have been experienced, so that nothing remains for you but to be wholly his. Because of the labor which the Gardener has put into his garden, nothing is too good for it; there is no blessing or blessedness which you may not expect. And it will continue thus even to the grave.[9]

ADDRESS TO THE BOYS' CHOIR

HERRNHUT, FEBRUARY 20, 1758

Theme: "I caused thee to grow up."—Ezek. 16. 7.[10]

IF it is true that we grow also in the way we think, then "to grow up" means that a boy who is about to become a young

[5] The "Enchiridion," or Bible Summary, on which Zinzendorf was working at this time.

[6] *J. H. D.*, June 26, 1758. In manuscript only.

[7] Kinder Loosung for the day.

[8] Here follows a reference to Jesus' retirement to the Mount of Olives.

[9] *J. H. D.*, June 30, 1757. In manuscript only.

[10] Kinder Loosung for the day.

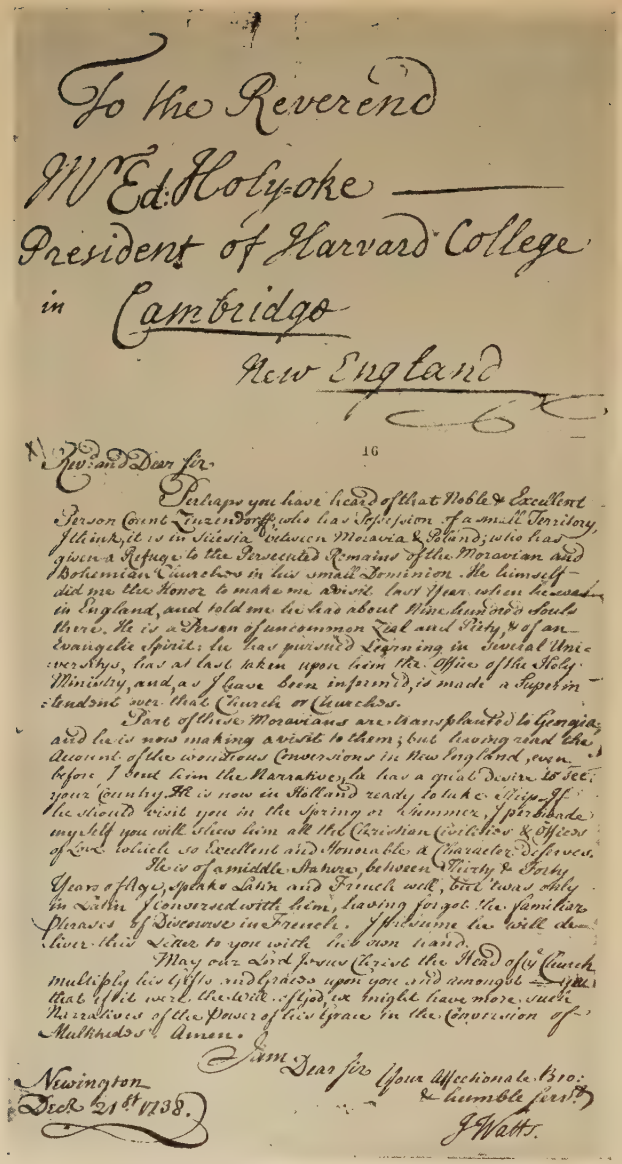
man grows to think in the way in which he will think all the rest of his life. That is something to make us very happy, because it means that we are growing up. Because the clean heart and pure soul are first put to a test at this time, it is well that the understanding also becomes clearer, so that you can improve the habits in which you use the gifts which the Saviour has given you.

You must take note of the fact that when I speak to you (as often) of my happy childhood, you must not think that this blessedness continued forever. From my twelfth to my nineteenth year I was at times a greater rascal than any of you, so far as my understanding and conduct were concerned. Concerning my heart, I cannot say this. But that is another matter which is not part of my subject for to-day. When, however, you see an unruly, silly young man or boy who does not know what he wants, you may think that is the way Father was. The reason for this was that during the time when I was of your age I was not only wholly neglected (that would not have been so harmful, for the Holy Spirit would not have neglected to do his part) but I was also subjected to an absurd discipline so that I acted in childish fashion. Later my religious experience proceeded more rapidly and smoothly again, so that from my nineteenth year on I have not thought or acted otherwise than now, and from that time there have been no disturbing elements, except for certain deep abnormal impressions which it was not possible in a short time to get rid of entirely.

Such experiences you can avoid in your lives through the grace of the Saviour. And if you will allow your mind and character to be formed by the Saviour, it will not be an extraordinary thing if you become such substantial and reliable youths that it will be possible to intrust you with a commission to service.

This, then, is what the Saviour would have, in view of the grace and favor you now enjoy, viz., that when he presents you to the heavenly Father, he can say of you that he takes pleasure in you, though you are young, that the whole children's congregation is flourishing among you, and that he regards you as his servants, and that he takes pleasure in your welfare.[11]

[11] To little boys at Herrnhut when a number of them were promoted to the Boys' Choir.—*J. H. D.*, February 20, 1758. In manuscript only.



To the Reverend
W^m Ed: Holy-oke
President of Harvard College
in Cambridge
New England

16

Rev^d and Dear Sir.

Perhaps you have heard of that Noble & Excellent Person Count Zinzendorff, who has Possession of a small Territory, I think, it is in Silesia betwixt Moravia & Poland; who has given a Refuge to the Persecuted Remains of the Moravian and Bohemian Churches in his small Dominion. He himself did me the Honor to make me a Visit last Year, when he was in England, and told me he had about Nine hundred Souls there. He is a Person of uncommon Zeal and Piety, & of an Evangelic Spirit: he has pursued Learning in Several Universities, has at last taken upon him the Office of the Holy Ministry, and as I have been informed, is made a Bishop & Governor over that Church or Churches.

Part of these Moravians are transplanted to Georgia, and he is now making a visit to them; but having read the Account of the wondrous Conversions in New England, even before I sent him the Narratives, he has a great Desire to see your Country. He is now in Holland ready to take Ship. If he should visit you in the Spring or Summer, I perswade myself you will shew him all the Christian Civilities & Offices of Love, which so Excellent and Honourable a Character deserves.

He is of a middle Stature, between Thirty & Forty Years of Age, speaks Latin and French well, but I was ashy in Latin I conversed with him, having forgot the familiar Phrases of Discourse in French. I presume he will deliver this Letter to you with his own hand.

May our Lord Jesus Christ the Head of his Church multiply his Gifts and Graces upon you and amongst all that visit you, that you might have more such Narratives of the Power of his Grace in the Conversion of Multitudes. Amen.

I am Dear Sir Your Affectionate Bro: & humble Servt

J. Watts.

Newington
Decr 21st 1738.

ISAAC WATTS INTRODUCES ZINZENDORF TO PRESIDENT HOLYOKE OF HARVARD COLLEGE

Photographed in the Herrnhut Archives by H. H. M.

CHILDREN'S HYMN[12]

1. I am a little child you see,
   My strength is little too,
   But yet I fain would savèd be;
   Lord, teach me what to do.

2. My Saviour, hear; thou for my Good
   Wert pleas'd a child to be,
   And thou didst shed thy precious Blood
   Upon the cross for me.

3. My dearest Saviour, tell me how
   My thankfulness to show
   For all thy love, before and now,
   Else I shall never know.

4. I think, since I so often hear
   That thou dost want my Heart
   As thy reward and purchase dear,
   That thou in earnest art.

5. Come, then, and take this heart of mine,
   Come, take me as I am,
   I know that I by right am thine,
   Thou loving gracious Lamb.

6. Down at thy feet still may I bow,
   Be thine, my Saviour, still,
   In nothing bad myself allow,
   Nor ever show self-will.

7. But I am weak, and nothing can,
   Myself can nothing do;
   Help me, O thou Almighty Man,
   Help my companions too.

8. Preserve our little hearts secure
   From every hurt and stain,
   First make them, and then keep them pure,
   And shut to all that's vain.

[12] From the Collection of Hymns, with Translations from the Hymn Book of the Moravian Brethren, London, 1743.

9. If early thou would'st have me die,
O that no harm would be:
Into thy arms I then will fly,
And ever live with thee.

10. If thou would'st have me longer stay,
In years and stature grow,
Help me to serve thee night and day,
While I am here below.

PRAYER FOR THE PROTECTION AND CONVERSION OF THE CHILDREN[13]

Thou, true Friend of the souls of poor little children,
Bless them in every hour of their lives.

. . . . . .

Grant that all children in their mothers' arms
May early feel the warmth of thy love.

May those just gaining the power of speech
Be taken into communication with thee.

As soon as they can speak properly
Let them enjoy nothing more than speaking the Saviour's name.

With an inexpressible awe
A child's heart, protected from sin, thanks thee.

And when thoughts first become coherent
And with the thoughts come promptings to sin,

Then come thou with thy Saviour's strength
And make an end of all works of the enemy.

Let thy angel stay lovingly about them,
Let them be intimately aware of thy child's heart.

The sense of being priests and priestesses
Plant early in their tender minds

And let them grow in thy grace,
Lovingly protect them from all harm.

. . . . . .

O graciously recall the great hosts
That not long since were still children.

[13] 1741—Geistliche Gedichte.

If they in childhood unfortunately missed
And dreamed away these days of grace

Those boys (superficially wise)
Would we gladly have back in childhood again.

Soften what hard hearts thou seest
And bring to them consciousness of thy suffering.

Even as, for the boys of all the world
Thou wert nailed hand and foot to the cross.

Let our children all live before thee
And fill their souls with thy spirit.

That they may in achieving the greatest strength,
Avoid distress, and be released from sin.

SONG FOR BOYS

Holy Saviour, Mary's Son
Remains alone the crown of purity;
The fountain of all virtue,
Is the master of our youth.

And for eternal contemplation
That God would give him to us
Who is Father of all ages
On the throne of eternity:

Make our company of boys holy
In the years of sin's enticements,
That every boy's will
Shall be filled with thy blessing:

That as long as everyone
Stands in the shadow of the cross
Not a single boy's heart
Shall forfeit Jesus' childlikeness!

Give as a bequest to everyone
The memory of the Child Jesus,
And for the sake of his manhood
An eternal added blessing![14]

[14] August, 1744—Geistliche Gedichte.

BRIEF ESSAY ON THE CHRISTIAN NURTURE OF CHILDREN

It is self-evident that a warrior of Jesus Christ, man or woman, will not trifle with children, will not entertain toward them any silly affection or attachment which would be harmful to them. It is equally self-evident that in all dealings with them one should act in accord with the promptings of the heart kindled by the love of Christ, not foolish or childish though childlike, not indulgent but loving and hearty, not indifferent but alert, not frivolous but friendly and cheerful. To induce a boy to frivolous laughter or waywardness is a great sin whereby one mars the respect in which children should be held, since, according to Christ's words, "their angels are at all times in the presence of the heavenly Father." Everything that is told them must have basis in fact, so that one may account to himself for the manner in which he speaks and acts. For this reason it is necessary to go to school diligently to the Saviour. Just as one seeks to avoid frivolousness one also endeavors to prevent willfulness. Regular habits of eating, drinking, sleeping are cultivated in them, but they are not allowed to expect that they must have everything which they chance to see and to desire. The first evidence of willfulness in them is promptly punished as the occasion may require. Such discipline, however, must be administered in a spirit of understanding, reservation, and prayerfulness. What we love or hate in children must correspond in each case to what Jesus himself would love or hate no matter who is affected thereby. In this attitude of mind we receive the children when they are born into the world, yea even before their birth they are consecrated to the Lord and for this reason one always permits the natural love of the flesh to give place to the love of Christ. This is the basis of one's love to them. Punishment is administered in love. Everything as unto the Lord, not unto oneself. Our attitude toward children should be serious as toward brother or sister. It is necessary to watch carefully that no child be permitted to act in accordance with self-will, at the same time observing care that no punishment be administered to the innocent. However, that would be better than to not punish the guilty, provided punishment is never administered in haste and always in a Christian spirit. Punishment must not be frequent, especially after the child has formed correct habits. It must be sensible as wise parents may determine according to age. As soon as they are able to understand one reasons with them concerning their wrongdoing, convinces them thoroughly with regard

to the cause of punishment. But one does not say that God wants them to be punished in order that they may not acquire a dislike for him. One shows them that they are punished because of their guilt and in order that they may become masters of their own willfulness. Children must not get the impression that one is striking them from annoyance.

In all things, it behooves us to act with earnestness and uprighteousness, so that children may not discover any lack of seriousness or other objectionable traits on account of which they may later be able to think or say, My father or my mother was so, or did thus, in which case one would not only be ashamed in their presence but would deserve God's displeasure. Nothing that is untrue should be told to children, nor should they be threatened with chastisement that is afterward not administered. They must be accustomed to hear only the truth from their parents, and no jesting. The making of promises to children as an inducement for a good behavior should be avoided; instead they should learn to do everything from obedience, and that which is given to them they must be taught to recognize as a loving gift in order that they shall not learn to covet rewards. Everything that they do must be done for the Saviour's sake and for that of their parents. It is not the part of wisdom to praise the good in children, nor should they be punished for material damage which they cause unintentionally through ignorance or thoughtlessly, no matter how great the damage may be. No distortion of the face either foolishly or from annoyance must go unpunished in them. Children should not be shouted at or approached in a rough manner or with a dark and angry countenance. No one must defend them or praise them in their presence.

Children must be drawn to the Christian life lovingly, not by force. Our conduct, love of the Saviour, our faithfulness in all things great or small, the description of the Saviour, his attitude toward us, what he has done for us, what he desires to give to us, these things must attract them. They must know of no beauty, no wealth, no honor, no rest except such as the Saviour gives. It will serve a good purpose if they are frequently spoken to concerning their condition, and if they are encouraged in spirit by singing with them reverently stanzas of appropriate hymns. In being taught cleanness in all things they are impressed with the ignoble character and worthlessness of all adornment. We protect them against extravagance and indolence and keep them faithfully at work, but at the same time exhort them to liberality and helpfulness toward others.

The importance of loving Jesus, the beauty of his shame,

his humility, his poverty, the lightness of his cross are impressed upon them with words and proofs lovingly and in a childlike spirit.

All association with strangers and their children should be forbidden, as should also association with the opposite sex. Concerning many matters about which they might otherwise learn in a wrong way according to the designs of Satan and his tools one should make no secret, or treat such things as though they were shameworthy but, rather, according to opportunity in an innocent, respectful and sacred fashion such as is found in Scripture. Nevertheless, no opportunity should be given for undue inquisitiveness and all information should be withheld from them which is not essential to their present needs, only such things being considered as are pertinent to the immediate purpose, according to the requirements of each day, and to the age and calling of each individual.

Respect toward everyone, especially toward parents, one seeks to inculcate as its importance deserves. Innocent recreation should be provided in proportion to the age and strength of the children. Even romping is to be permitted in case the needed exercise is not to be had in any other way. But such romping must not be accompanied by frivolity. They would not desist from romping anyway, and therefore it is not good to forbid it else they do it secretly as something sinful and through deceit against the commandments of their parents. Romping in itself is no sin.

Children are never to be left alone. They are to be given useful information and permitted to accompany their parents on appropriate occasions as a special favor (for thus they must learn to regard such treats).

With their advance in years an effort is to be made to instruct them thoroughly in the true faith regarding justification and holiness in the apostolic sense (namely, that as accursed sinners we have been redeemed without deserving on our part, wholly through grace; that neither our piety nor yet our self-acquired virtues can contribute in the least thereto; that our zeal and holiness must be observed and cultivated as faithfully as though our salvation were to be earned thereby, because He first loved us), though at the same time care should be taken that they do not acquire the habit of pious conversation, using words without power and knowledge without substance.[15]

[15] *Sonderbare Gespraeche,* pp. 128-136.

ZINZENDORF'S MORBID MYSTICISM

In his references to the marriage relationship as illustrating the intimacy of relationship between the believer and Christ, Zinzendorf occasionally lapses into a plainness of speech and a vividness of carnal suggestion that to the modern mind, even the mind of the religious mystic, is distinctly repugnant. This morbidly mystical aspect of Zinzendorf's character has already been referred to in the discussion of the Talks to the Choir of Married Persons, and of the Zinzendorfian hymnal. A further word needs to be said before leaving the consideration of his educational writings. In recent years this trait in Zinzendorf's character has been made the subject of psycho-analytic study. One such analysis of his life and writings has been made in the spirit of adverse criticism, portraying his vagaries of thought and language at their worst. This is Oskar Pfister's *"Die Froemmigkeit des Grafen Ludwig von Zinzendorf—Ein Psychoanalyticher Beitrag zur Kenntniss der Religioesen Sublimierungsprocesze und zur Erklaerung des Pietismus."*[16] The appropriate answer to this unfriendly portrayal has been made by Gerhart Reichel in his similar though sympathetic study entitled *"Zinzendorfs Froemigkeit im Licht der Psychoanalyse—Ein Beitrag zur Verstaendniss der extravaganten Lehrweise Zinzendorfs."*[17]

Without entering into a psycho-analytical study of Zinzendorf and Moravianism such as has been made by Pfister and by Reichel, it should be pointed out that, however objectionable, according to present-day standards of propriety in religious discussions and hymn writings Zinzendorf's use of sex language and symbolism may be, a careful reading of many of the hymns and addresses most subject to censure leads the writer to the conclusion that Zinzendorf intended that these should serve the purpose of idealizing the marriage relation and of sublimating the sex impulses.

Most objectionable were certain hymns dedicated to particular choirs (age groups organized for purposes of religious training) in the Moravian community,[18] portions of the so-called *Litany of the Wounds,*[19] and occasional utterances of Zinzendorf in his more intimate counsels with and addresses to the choirs

[16] Zurich, 1910. [17] Tuebingen, 1911.

[18] *Hymnal, Supplement XII.* Cf. Nos. 1843, Regarding the state of matrimony; 1844, Hymn for young women; 1845, Hymn for unmarried men; 1990, Hymn to the new-born Christ.

[19] *Homiliae ueber die Wunden-Litaney*—1747.

composed of marriageable young people and of married adults. The culmination of these vagaries of thought and language, especially of their effects upon the life and daily worship of the Moravian congregations, falls in the period known as the "Sichtungs Periode," 1743–1749, a time of extreme emotional revival and rapid growth of the Moravian congregations in Wetteravia.[20]

Over against the adverse impression made by these morbidly mystical writings of Zinzendorf should be placed the following considerations not previously referred to in this study. During a period of more than ten years, including the entire "Sichtungs Periode," Zinzendorf enjoyed the continued friendship and assistance of the king of Prussia[21] and of men in high authority in England and in the American colonies. Under the pressure of unfriendly criticism of Zinzendorf and his Moravian colony at Herrnhut, the government of Saxony three times instituted a thorough inquiry into the conditions and religious teachings at Herrnhut, all three investigations resulting in acquittal and vindication.[22] His brief stay at Stralsund resulted in the life-long friendship of Langemack, who had been an opponent of Zinzendorf and Moravianism on the ground of false reports circulated by Zinzendorf's defamers.[23] Later the widow of Langemack identified herself with Moravianism and assumed charge of a girls' school at Bertelsdorf, the village nearest to Herrnhut.[24]

In 1749 the English Parliament passed "An Act for Encouraging the People Known by the Name of Unitas Fratrum or United Brethren to Settle in His Majesty's Colonies in America."[25] In submitting its report and recommendation favoring the passage of the proposed act, the Parliamentary committee having the matter in charge transmitted to Parliament a mass of documentary evidence regarding the integrity, worthiness, industry, and piety of the Moravians. Among these documents were included a full statement setting forth "The Brethren's Method of Preaching the Gospel,"[26] and the church litany and ritual of the Brethren.[27] It also contained extracts from the minutes of several general synods "Showing the Inward Plan of their Present Conduct," including a lengthy statement taken

[20] *Haupt-Schluessel* zum Ehe-Sacrament.

[21] Letters from the king of Prussia to Zinzendorf: April 11, 1738; in behalf of the Brethren, March 17, 1742 and September 9, 1746.

[22] 1732, 1734 and 1737. Cf. *Cranz. Br. Hist.* I, p. 195f; 268f; *Nat. Ref.* p. 135f; *Bd. Sam.* III, p. 1033.

[23] *Sp. Z. L.* II, pp. 829-843. [24] *Sp. Z. L.* pp. 829-843.

[25] *Acta Fratrum unitatis in Anglia* MDCCXLIX.

[26] *Acta Fratrum*, p. 68. [27] *Ibid.*, p. 77.

from their public Apology printed in 1745, "when some of their private hymns were taxed and published by their adversaries purposely in order to set them in a false light." This statement makes clear both the grounds for hostile criticisms and the injustice of these.[28] A few years later there was published in London, with an editorial indorsement by M. Gambold, a defense by Zinzendorf against similar criticisms of himself and of the Moravian congregations. In concluding this defense Zinzendorf says: "Had I dreamed in the least, first, that the well-meant hymns and prayers under this head would come into the hands of strangers; secondly, that men of Caanan's disposition would be found even among Divines, who, purely for the pleasure of oppressing and embarrassing innocent souls, would give the most valuable divine truths and known Scripture words a ridiculous turn in the face of the world, and withal give all chastity and modesty the last stab: I undoubtedly, instead of suppressing the XIIth Collection of Wetteravia poems, would have begun earlier, and left out such subjects in the first hymn books above twenty years ago. I know what consideration a man ought to have for his poor fellow men, already too prone to the immoral side, and to misuse the most innocent things."[29]

[28] *Acta Fratrum*, p. 68.

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APPENDIX II

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INDEX

Acta Fratrum Unitatis in Anglia, 107 136, 140-1, 206
Adels-Paedagogium, 144, 146, 147, 149, 150
Adventists, 11
Africa, 16, 174
Alaska, 16
America, 10, 11, 12, 20, 46, 58, 59, 62, 122, 156, 174
Angelus, Johannes, 73
Archbishop of Canterbury, 42
Arndt, Johann, 56
Asia, 174
Augsburg Confession, 9, 14, 65, 68, 106, 107, 110, 112, 116, 118, 135, 179
Awakening, Spiritual, 128-9

Baptism—
  definition of, 126-7
  duty of Christian parents, 117
  efficacy of, 98, 108, 114, 117
  martyr, of Christ, 116
  not essential to salvation, 35, 37, 114, 115
  of children, 41, 44, 116
  of regeneration, 37, 42, 97, 106-121, 177, 179
  positive means of grace, 18, 37, 108, 114, 117, 118, 122
  protection against evil influences, 17-8, 118
  scriptural requirement for infant baptism doubtful, 116
  symbolism of, 41, 111
Baptists, 11
Barby, 62, 145, 148
Basedow, 17
Bechtel, Johannes, 46
Berlin, 42
Bern, Synod of (1532), 46
Bertelsdorf, 143, 144, 146, 147, 149, 150
Bethel, 62, 168
Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, 56, 59, 149, 161, 175
  Provincial Synod of, 161
Beudingen, 38, 62
Body, the temple of the Holy Spirit, 125-6
Bonin, von, 55
Boyhood, defined, 169
Bremen, 37
Brethren, Unity of, 9, 10, 59, 74, 107, 111, 143, 144, 147, 150
Brueder, Bund der Vier, 31, 56, 73, 147

Catechisms—
  Bohemian Brethren, 96
  Langemack's History of, 22, 37
  Luther (Enchiridion), 27, 31, 32, 34, 43, 44, 52, 60, 96, 106, 108, 111, 148, 153, 165, 179, 197
  Official, 37
  Spener, 96, 148
  Spruch-Catechismi, 30f., 49, 148, 153
  Watts, Isaac, 22, 27-30, 96
  Wesleyan, 22, 27-30, 96
  Zinzendorf: Der Kleine Catechismus, 43f.; Gewisser Grund, 30f.; Heiden Catechismus, 43f.; Kurzer Catechismus, 46f.; Lautere Milch, 21ff.; Probe Eines Lehr-Buechelgens, 37f.; Summary, 48f.

Childhood—
  age limits of, 165
  defined, 164
  differs from boyhood and girlhood, 169
Child Likeness, 102, 124, 131f.
Child Nurture, 20, 181
  defined, 123, 130, 136
  earnestly considered, 94
  responsibility of adults for, 121

Children—
  baptism of, 41, 44, 116
  begetting of, 136
  brow-beaten, goody-goody, 103
  dying in infancy not lost, 35, 115-6
  entitled to baptism, 35, 41, 119
  essay on nurture of, 89, 202-204
  free time activities of, 102
  hope of the future, 119
  hymns for, 60, 77, 94, 97, 199
  institutions for, 104
  litanies for, 60, 81f.
  not adults in miniature, 97
  odes for, 87, 88, 98

Children—(Continued)
original state of innocence, 106, 114, 116, 119, 121
play, significance of in child training, 102, 105
prayer for, 200
prayers of, 101, 193
punishment of, 103, 202, 203
religious status of, 106f.
restraint of, 102, 104
scripture mottoes for, 60, 86-88, 94, 98, 197
should not be forced, 104
talks to, 62, 95, 98, 99
writings for, 95
Zinzendorf's, 70, 94, 104
Choir System—
choir for infants in arms, 163
children, 164-169, 172, 197, 198
young men and women, 158, 159, 160, 172, 174, 197
married people, 136, 157, 158, 160
widows and widowers, 160
choir houses, 174
helpers, 162
organization of, 159-173
promotions, 172
Christmas Eve vigils, 95
Clemens, Gottfried, 64-5, 69
Coe, George Albert, 180
Comenius, John Amos, 17
Confirmation, 171
Congregational Institutes, 145
Conversion, 120, 126, 127, 177, 179
Court Chaplain, 38, 42
Cranz, David, 18, 146, 147, 158, 161, 174, 206
Creed, 14
Curriculum, 154

Darwin, Charles, 17
Day School, 143, 146
Development, 180
Diaries—
Herrnhut congregation, 61, 92
Pilgrim congregation (Juenger-Haus Diarium), 92, 93, 94, 99, 160, 173
Dober, Leonhard, 15
Dober, Martin, 164
Dogma, 13
Dresden, 96, 134
Duvernoy, Jacob Christoph von, 18

Eberhard, Ebii, 30
Ebersdorf, 55, 56
Ebersdorfer, Bibel, 56, 60
Edeling, Christian Ludwig, 132
Emile, 17
England, 10, 58, 94, 112, 175, 176
Environment, 180, 181
Episcopal Church, 59, 68, 112
Eventual Testament, 123
Example, more important than precept, 103, 105; parental, 138

Festivals, Moravian, 161
Fetterlane Chapel, 66
Francke, August Hermann, 17, 78, 142 143, 144, 147, 152, 155
Francke, the younger, 133
Frankfurt, 30, 55, 149
Franklin, Benjamin, 11, 46
Frederick, William I, school reforms under, 178
Friedburg, 99
Froebel, Friedrich Wilhelm August, 16, 17
Frohberger, Christian Gottlieb, 129

Gambold, M., 207
Geneva, 46
Gerhard, Friedrich Wilhelm Eduard, 75, 79, 148
Germantown, 46
Germany, 58, 112
Gersdorf, Countess of, 56, 132, 143, 146; Henrietta von, 132
Girlhood, 169
Girls' Dormitory and School, 144, 146, 149
Gnadenfry, 160
Goerlitz, 147
Gregor, Christian, 72, 76, 78, 80
Guiana, British and Dutch, 16

Halferung, 55
Halle, 19, 70, 133, 142-3, 144, 147, 148, 149, 155, 156-7, 178, 179
Hamburg, 30
Happiness, 102
Hausekklesiola, 147
Hayn, Louisa von, 78, 99, 173
Heitz, Johann Georg, 55

Hennersdorf, 100, 144, 145, 173
Herbart, Johann Friedrich, 16, 17, 18
Herrendyk, 94
Herrnhaag, 144, 145, 148, 149, 154, 155, 156, 160
Herrnhut, 10, 11, 19, 20, 31, 37, 51, 55, 58, 59, 60, 61, 68, 72, 86, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 98, 99, 100, 104, 105, 110, 122, 123, 125, 131, 134, 135, 136, 141, 142, 143, 149, 150, 152, 154, 155, 156, 158, 162, 168, 173, 194, 195, 197
Holland, 10, 94, 112, 175, 176
Holyoke, the Rev. Edward, 9, 198
Holy Spirit, 57, 68, 105, 118, 123, 124, 125-6, 130, 137, 196, 197
Home, importance of for Christian nurture and training, 130, 131, 133
Huebner, Johann, 153
Hussite, 73
Hutton, James, 98
Hymnals—
  Children's, 77
  Dresden, 153, 154
  Methodist, 75, 76
  Moravian, 61, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 98, 153, 161
  Zinzendorfian, 61, 72
Hymns—
  Angelus, Johannes, 73
  Catholic, 74
  children's, 77, 97
  composite authorship, 76, 79, 80
  early church, 74
  for special age groups, 74
  Gerhard's, 75, 78
  Greek, 61
  Latin, 61
  Luther, 74
  Lutheran, 61
  Moravians, 61, 72, 73, 74
  objectionable, 74, 205-6
  Reformation, 74
  teaching use of, 76f., 88
  Waltersdorf, 75
  Watts, 61, 72
  Wesley, 72, 75, 61
  Zinzendorf, 61, 69ff., 72, 80
Iceland, 16
Jablonsky, Bishop, 38
Jews, 54
Juenger-Haus Diarium—See Diaries
Jung, Willhelm Friedrich, 90
Just, Matthias, 150-1
Kinder-Eltern (Kinder-Vaeter), 91, 174, 175, 176
Koenigsberg, 17
Krumpe, 146
Labrador, 16
Lange, J. C., 78
Langemack, Gregorio, 22, 37, 206
Latin School, 144, 145, 148, 150, 164
Lausitz, 145
Leipsig, 30, 55
Lieberkuehn, Samuel, 58, 77
Lindheim, 94, 145
Lindsey House, London, 104, 105
Litany for Children, 81f.
Litany of the Brethren, 136
Litany of the Wounds, 67, 205
Liturgy, 137
London, 54, 55, 58, 66, 79, 94, 142, 159, 164, 207
Loosungen, see Scripture Mottoes
Luther, Martin, 17, 51-2, 90
Lutheran Church, 11, 59, 73
Lutheran Churches of Pennsylvania, 12, 111
Lyndhouse, 105
Marienborn, 68, 139, 145
  Synod at, 103, 174
Marriage relationship, 133-135, 205
Maxims, 103
Meiningen, 37
Mennonites, 11
Methodist Revival, 10
Moravian—
  church, 9, 10, 11, 15, 18, 92, 110, 130
  colonies, 136, 140
  congregations, 11, 14, 19, 20, 31, 46, 52, 58, 59, 68, 73, 74, 89, 90, 93, 106, 122, 160, 178, 206, 207
  institutions, 19, 141-3, 146, 151, 155, 166
  missions, 10, 16, 145
  refugees, 9, 14, 134
Muehlhausen, 37
Mueller, Joseph, 96
Neuwied, 94
Nicaragua, 16
Niemeyer, August Herman, 18
Niesky, 145

Niska Boemisch, 174
Niska Wendish, 174
Nitschman, Anna, 76, 78, 80
  David, 38, 76
  John, 95
Nuernberg, 55
Nursery for Little Children, 145

Oberlausitz, 68, 174
Odes, for children, 88
Order of the Mustard Seed, 15
Orphanage, 31, 142, 144, 149, 150-154, 156
Orthodoxy, 14, 17

Paedagogium, 60, 145-150
Pagans, 114
Parliamentary Committee, see Acta Fratrum
Pennsylvania, 11, 43, 46, 66, 111, 151, 161
Pestalozzi, Johann Heinrich, 17
Peterson, John William, 30
Pfister, Oskar, 205
Philadelphia, 66, 138
Pietism, Pietistic, 9, 18, 19, 132, 134, 149, 152, 153, 155, 158, 163, 165, 177, 179
Pilgrim Congregation, 92
Plitt, Johannes, 18, 158, 159
Pratt, James Bissett, 180
Presbyterian church, 68, 112
Preservation, 120
Prussia, King of (App.), 206
Psychology, Psychological, 17, 48, 180
Puberty—
  characteristics and importance of, 169, 170
  confirmation service at, 171

Quakers, 11

Recitation schedule, 151
Redemption, 114, 127
Reformed Church, 11, 59, 73, 112
Reichel, Lic. Gerhard, 16, 19f., 205
Religion, defined, 103
Repentance, 126
Restraint, 102, 104
Revival of 1727, 101, 149, 158
  among the children, 101
Roman Catholic Church, 73
Rothe, Joh. Andr., 31, 56, 146, 147, 149, 156

Rousseau, Jean Jacques, 17

Royal Commission—
  suppresses Gewisser Grund, 1736, 31, 37
  orders substitution of Luther's Enchiridion for Zinzendorf's edition and Dresden Hymnal for the Moravian one, 1737, 153
  recommends Zinzendorf's banishment from Saxony, 10, 31, 153
  report of, 1732, 93

Salvation, 12, 115, 127, 128
Saviour, 12, 97, 99, 105, 113, 123, 119, 124, 126-7, 128, 129, 138, 169, 170, 175, 194, 195, 196, 197
Saxony, 206
  Zinzendorf's banishment from, 10, 19, 92, 96, 143, 144, 152, 153, 154
  Zinzendorf's return to, 144, 145
  Zinzendorf in service of government of, 96
Scheffer, M. Melchior, 31, 147, 149
Schleinitz, Otto, 18
School, 130
School of the Heart, 101
Schwarze, William M., 7, 59
Scripture Mottoes (Loosungen), 59, 60, 61, 69, 77, 85, 86, 87, 94, 98, 197
Sermons, see Zinzendorf
Sin, original, 37, 42, 97, 106-116, 121, 177, 179
Spangenberg, August Gottlieb, 10, 18f., 21, 46, 50, 90, 101, 130, 150-1, 164
Spener, Philipp Jacob, 9, 96, 132, 143, 148
Stettin, 46
Stohr, Joh. Christoph, 38
Stralsund, 178
Strassburg, 37, 206
Sweden, Zinzendorf's Letter to the King of, 14, 110, 112, 113, 116, 122, 135, 156
Swenkfelders, 11
Switzerland, 10
Symbolism, 14

Synods, Moravian, 47
Bethlehem, 161

Tartars, 114
Theological Seminary—
at Herrnhaag, 145
at Herrnhut, 20, 59
Thurnstein, von, 44
Tropes, 12, 112
Tuebingen, 205
Turks, 114

Uttendoerfer, O., 7, 16, 19, 20, 90, 91, 131, 143, 144, 145, 151, 152, 154, 158, 164, 166, 167

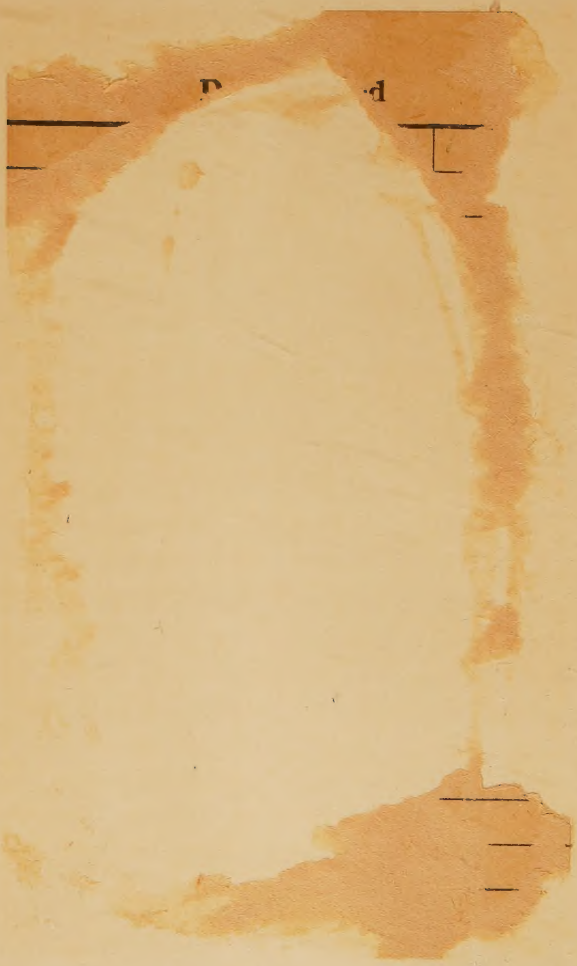
Verino, Timotheo, 15
Vorbaum, 148

Waldensian, 73
Watteville, Frederick v., 31, 147, 149
Watts, Isaac, 9, 22, 27, 61, 72, 96
Weimar, 37
Wesley, Charles, 61, 72
John, 9, 10, 61, 75
Westminster, 159, 169
Wetteravia, 19, 20, 37, 74, 143, 144, 206, 207
Wittenberg, 55, 178
Wuertemberg, 37
Wuerzburg, University of, 19

Young manhood and young womanhood, 169

Zeefeldt, 16, 19
Zeist (See Zeyst)
Zeyst, 94, 175
Synod of, 69
Zezschwitz, Johanna v., 147
Ziegler, 16, 178, 179
Ziesberger, David, 194
Zinzendorf, Erdmuth Dorothea, 76
Elizabeth, 173
Zinzendorf—
adaptation of thought and language, 14, 69, 88, 98, 178
administrator and organizer, 10
ancestry, 9, 132
association with children, 16f., 92f., 101
banished from Saxony, 10, 19, 37, 143, 144
break with Pietistic leaders at Halle, 18, 155
central figure of Moravianism, 10, 131
death, 58, 95, 145, 173
diary, 164
early boyhood, 132
education,
tutor, 132
Halle, 15, 142, 178
Wittenberg, 178
Stralsund, 178
educator, importance as, 16f., 172
emotional fervor, 67, 69-70, 75, 100
founder of educational institutions, 16
hymn writer, 61, 69f.
hymnals, 72 (See also Hymns)
insight into child nature, 17, 63-4
interest in missions, 15, 16
literalistic Bible interpretation of, 25
morbid mysticism, 14-5, 67, 74, 75, 205, 207
on free development in individual, 102-106, 115, 157
on religious nurture, 121, 123, 129f.
passion for church unity, 10, 11, 73
pastor in Philadelphia, 11, 66
philanthropist, 19
poems, 70, 72, 133, 134
preaches to Indians, 11
presides over Pennsylvania Conferences, 11
religious education theory, 69, 76, 114
selected quotations from, 71, 72, 90-91
sermons and addresses, summary, 69
talks to children, 62, 95, 98, 99
teaching method, 69
theologian, 11-13, 70, 112
theory of original sin, 113ff.
traveler, 10
visits American colonies, 10, 11, 66, 122
visits St. Thomas, 10
writings for children, 95

Zurich, 205



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